THE

NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

ELBOW-ROOM FOR THE WILL.

BITTER experience has at length brought out the conclusion that slave labour is the dearest in the world, the most wasteful, and the least efficiently performed. We have learned this lesson at a most frightful cost. Could our West Indian islands disclose at one view the dark and painful records of slavery—could we, by some potent wand of enchantment, conjure up before the mind's eye a distinct vision of the past, and crowd into one picture an unconfused and vivid representation of the woes and cruelties—the quivering limbs, the agonising frames, the scalding tears of misery, the broken hearts—which the sun has looked upon in those isles of natural loveliness and fertility—and could we but realise the fact that this endless volume of anguish has been produced by an attempt to command results without caring to enlist the will in the accomplishment of them—we might be tempted to wonder what spell of infatuation is upon man, that he should ever deliberately propose, in any department of activity, to go to work without it. Difficulties will ever stand in the way of every truly great and noble undertaking—but no difficulty approaches in magnitude that of making reluctant wills work in the harness of our designs. The cost of kicking-straps; the whole furniture of precaution and implements of coercion; the labour and vexation of being obliged to whip, whip, whip, incessantly; the time lost and the anxiety thrown away in guarding against starts, now on this side, then on that; and the ever-burdening, spirit-depressing fear that temper may eventually get head, take the bit between its teeth, and bolt, to the hazard of all that we cherish with devout affection, might be enough, one would imagine, to make us sick of the coercive system in the management of man; and to convince us that probably at far less expense of means, with far greater pleasure to ourselves, and far more satisfactorily for our ultimate purpose, be it what it may, we might employ ourselves in using our endeavours to get the right side of him, and to bring over his will to set his energies to work.

All creatures bow to some master—and if we would make them serve us, we must do it through him as the fittest medium. Man obeys his own will, and can be effectually controlled through it alone. He knows its voice, listens with gladness to its commands, hastens with alacrity to perform its behests. Prompted by its dictates, he gathers himself up with exultation to wrestle with difficulty, eyeing its formidable appearance with inward satisfaction, from the mere pleasure of putting out his whole strength to overcome it. Gain but a man's will, and you may safely leave him alone with it—your work will be done, whatever it be, if it lie within the compass of his ability, without the necessity of your standing by to watch him. For, the service of his will is the service of himself, and "who ever yet hated his own flesh and blood?"

He who gave us Christianity well knows our nature, and wisely and beneficently has he adapted to it his great designs. Men, it is true, may make bond-slaves of themselves, and sell their liberty of action to the vilest and meanest despots; or their fellow men may treat them as such, and seek to bind them to drudgery by external constraint; but their Maker deals with them after another fashion. Bond-service, even to Himself, of right the Universal Ruler, he repudiates. He addresses himself, accordingly, to the human will. To it he discloses his purposes—to it he makes his appeals. Scripture itself is but one long, manifold, argument, employed to gain over the will—to win its consent, and by it to rule the man.

With these ample sources of instruction before us, we are at a loss to imagine why this system, the superior efficiency of which elsewhere, in things both temporal and spiritual, is plainly and incontestibly demonstrable, should be held to be so ridiculously inapplicable in the case of the maintenance of religious institutions. It may be difficult, it is true, to persuade the will in this matter—and it may be urged with some show of plausibility, that the way to man's money is shorter and much more direct than the way to man's heart. Aye! if you mean to stop short at the money; but the profession in this case is, that the one is but the road to the other. Religious institutions must be kept up, it is said, as the appointed means to promote the cause of religion, or, in other words, to win over men's hearts to the reception of Christianity. Unless this be done, of what conceivable use are the institutions?—and if the institutions do this, what need is there of coercion? It will not be pretended that the willing recipients of Christian truth will be unwilling supporters of Christian institutions—for if such be really the case, the practical influence of revelation is not worth much, after all. But it is not so. The implied suspicion is a gratuitous and malignant libel upon the religion of the gospel. No! The difficulty of enlisting the human will in the maintenance of the appointed means of Christian instruction, is precisely the difficulty of obtaining its consent to the reception of Christianity itself. Get the latter, and you are sure of the former. And if this latter is *not* to be secured, the former is nothing worth. Either, then, man's will *cannot* be won over to religion, in which case the institutions are obviously useless—or it *can*, in which case the institutions are guaranteed a voluntary and efficient support.

And now we respectfully submit to our readers, whether there exists any solid and irrefragable proof to convince us that in this one department only of human affairs, this highest sphere of responsibility and action, the slave system must needs be resorted to. Why must that which is cruel, wasteful, and ultimately inefficient, in all other respects, be kind, economical, and permanently successful in this? Why should the cultivation of the moral wastes of the earth, even there, where the severest toil and the most painful sacrifices are demanded, be rendered by Providence dependent on a system which, as those West Indian planters, must stand over the will and lash it into submissive activity? Why, when in the social world we have thrown aside our whips and collars, our dungeons and deaths, under a conviction that it is less expensive, and more congruous with justice, to persuade the will than to force it, must we, in spiritual matters, retain their hideous counterparts—acts of parliament, exchequer processes, distraints of goods, and imprisonment for contempt? Wherein lies the necessity that just here, where our ultimate business is with the will, and where, unless we eventually gain that, we have gained nothing, we should pursue our object by working right against the grain of human volitions, setting them at nought, and dealing with them as a troop of refractory children, not to be reasoned with, but to be well whipped into obedience?

Do but consult man, and you go far to win him—show him the respect due to manhood, and you put yourself in the direct road to his esteem. Cautiously abstain, in all your dealings with him, from violating his individual independence—recognise his inherent right to freedom of judgment and freedom of agency—constitute him the arbiter of matters affecting his own interests—make your appeal to his good sense and kind feeling—approach him as a friend, anxious, not to meddle officiously in his affairs, but to suggest advice—make your application to him, not as a tax gatherer, with legal warrants, but as a suitor, disclaiming all authority over his conduct—in one word, treat him as a man having unquestioned liberty of thought, choice, action, rather than as a child possessing neither, or as a slave forcibly despoiled of all—and he will prove himself to be not so intractable a being as state priests have represented him. By such means, what you gain for the support of religious institutions, you gain also in good-will to the institutions themselves. You leave room for the play of all those motives which usually avail to elicit energetic action—proprietary interest, emulation, enterprise, self-approbation, patriotism, love. You have in the place of a bondsman to be watched, a fellow-workman to be trusted. The work you have in hand will be done more kindly, and therefore more effectually—and every step you take to reach a steady maintenance of public religious means, is a step in the direction of that end, for which, and which alone, these means are essentially requisite. So necessary is it to the efficient performance of every important work involving man's welfare to give ample elbow-room to the will.

ORDINATION OF DISSENTING MINISTERS.

THE correspondence on this subject to which our columns have been open for some weeks past, must now be considered as closed. A further continuance of it, whilst it would occupy more space than we can well spare, would not probably bring out any new aspects of the question. From the numerous letters we have received since we ventured to throw out our first remarks on the matter, we have been compelled to make a selection, and we have endeavoured to do so with strict impartiality. We have now only to make a few observations, by way of summing up, and then, with due respect, to dismiss the subject.

We think it very important, in the consideration of this and kindred questions, to distinguish the different kinds of treatment due to positive institutions, and to apostolic practice. Doubtless it is our duty, in respect of the former, to receive them as authoritative in the first place, and to seek for a satisfactory *rationale* of them afterwards. All that we have to do is to inspect their credentials, and to carry out their instructions with implicit confidence, whether we can or cannot discern the wisdom of them. But we are not thus bound by apostolic practice. Here, we are called upon to exercise keen discrimination and sound judgment; for, unless we feel ourselves obliged to adopt it in every particular, there must be some deeper obligation than simply apostolic practice, upon which we rest our imitation of it, in this or the other instance; and there must be the vigilant use of reason in discovering wherein that obligation lies. Some things the apostles did which were well adapted to oriental customs and habits, which, in the external form of them, it would be foolish for us to adopt. When Paul exhorts to that hospitality which is not "forgetful to entertain strangers"—when he commends the indication of good-will by "greeting one

another with a holy kiss"—when the Head of the church himself commands us "to wash each other's feet"—or when we learn from the apostle of the Jews, that we are "to anoint with oil" a sick brother—we must be able to find a sufficient reason for utterly neglecting the literal observances of these precepts. We admit, in departing from precedent, that apostolic practice does not *per se*, and of necessity, bind Christians in the present day; and we are content to recognise the principle, of whose range of operation these particular customs may be taken as nothing more than the index, without transplanting into an unsuitable soil foreign manners and habits. And in regard to the adoption or rejection of such apostolic observances, where nothing further enjoins our submission to them, we are not only allowed, but we are bound to inquire, whether in our own day, and viewed in connexion with prevailing customs and modes of thought, the general analogy of the Christian dispensation harmonises with them or not. In the present case, the ordination of dissenting ministers, we do not deem it sufficient to point out here and there an instance, proving that the apostle ordained Timothy by laying on of hands; or that, setting apart to office in the church—whether diaconal, pastoral, or for the accomplishment of a special mission, as for example, that of Paul and Barnabas—was effected by certain proceedings obviously consonant with common oriental practice. We quarrel not with the facts, but we ask whether there is anything in ordination which takes it out of the class of practices we have above noticed, which obliges us to retain, with the principle—namely, that of orderly and solemn appointment to church offices and relationships—the peculiar eastern mode of its development—and whether, throughout the whole of the New Testament, there be a shadow of authority for regarding ordination to the ministry as a positive institute. Our own judgment is, that there is not; and we proceed accordingly to analyse the *rationale* of the rite.

It will somewhat assist us in clearing up confused notions, if we succeed in gaining a satisfactory idea of what that is, to which men are ordained by the Christian church. Whether the terms ordination and appointment be or be not co-extensive—whether we may or may not regard the first as the public and ceremonial act by which the second is denoted and avowed, it will not be denied that ordination *implies* appointment. The question, then, naturally occurs—appointment to what? To a special relationship to *a* church, or to an order or *status* in respect of *the* church? To a presidency, in ministering instruction, dispensing ordinances, and maintenance of discipline, over an individual Christian society; or to a species of religious *caste*, a general notion of which will be found in the adage, "Once a minister, always a minister?" We may be allowed to express our belief that the setting apart of men, by public act, to what may be termed "professional and official grade," is not only not sanctioned by scripture, but is repudiated by the whole genius of Christianity. That a special commission might be entrusted to an individual, by one or more churches, having for its object the advantage of *the* church universal, is not denied—but we think it may be affirmed with safety, that the appointments to office mentioned in the scriptures, were appointments to *relationship* and its duties, not to "*an order*" and its powers. A man placed over *a* church, had authority and obligations in reference to *that* church; but in reference to *the* church universal, his appointment to office gave him nothing more than a moral claim upon the esteem of its members—no qualification, no official pre-eminence. When he ceased to be the pastor of *a* church, he ceased to be other than just a private member of the body to which he might belong. Appointed to a special relationship, his special honours, functions, powers, and responsibilities, terminated with the relationship which clothed him with them all. Otherwise, we desiderate a scriptural specification of the duties which ministerial office imposed—duties, we mean, attention to which was not equally binding upon him as a private member, as a minister. We know of no such duties—and where there are no peculiar duties, we do not usually find peculiar privileges and functions. If this be a true view of the case, and we are curious to see what congregationalist will dispute it, then we may arrive at some conclusions of practical interest in the matter.

1. If the office, to which ordination professes to be a solemn appointment, be essentially one of relationship to an individual church, and not of "order" in relation to the church at large, then the appointment to it is valid, without the consent or co-operation of the pastors of other churches—otherwise, every church is *not* competent to manage its own affairs.

2. The relationship implying special duties, those duties can only be decently and appropriately performed, whilst it lasts, by the individual who sustains it. Now a pastor is appointed by the church over which he is set, to minister instruction, ordinances, discipline; and whilst he remains pastor, it is disorderly and unseemly for any private member to intrude himself into this sphere. What the pastor does, in these respects, he does in virtue of the relationship to which he has been called—not in virtue of a superior *status* to which he has been advanced.

3. In case of what may be termed a church's widowhood, it is competent to such church to call in temporary aid, or it is not. If not, then it ceases, as an associated body, to exist, and its power and privileges die with its minister. If it be, then there remains no reason, *ceteris paribus*, why it should limit its invitation to pastors of other churches. They administer ordinances to the churches over which they preside, only in virtue of their special relationship to those churches—which relationship cannot officially qualify them for presiding in another and a widowed church—simply, because it ceases to apply. All, then, being in the same position, as it respects the church in want—ministers, students, and private members—if it be open to the church to ask aid at all, it is equally open to it to ask it of the one class as of the other.

We conclude, then, as we began. If ordination be a positive Christian institute, it devolves upon such as affirm it to furnish the scriptural proof of it. If it qualify for membership of an ecclesiastical order, rather than recognise special relationship to a particular church, it remains with those who maintain this doctrine to point out what are the special duties of that order. We have seen nothing like evidence capable of sustaining either of these positions—and, therefore, we repeat—"Ordination, considered simply as a service practised by dissenters, we take to be nothing more than a solemn avowal, in the presence of neighbouring churches, of the relationship entered into between a pastor and his flock; on which occasion, they are invited to unite in invoking the blessing of the Head of the church upon the contracting parties. This invocation, however, supposes no communication of authority to the minister, nor does the presence of other churches render his relationship to his people more valid or more binding."

A motion for a church rate was made last week in the town of Thame, Buckinghamshire, at a vestry meeting held for the purpose. The way in which the vicar, the Rev. J. Prosser behaved was most shameful. He hurried through the accounts in a manner that quite astonished the parishioners, who were unable to examine them in a proper manner; was unfair and overbearing towards those who were opposed to the rate, and endeavoured, as far as possible, to prevent any one speaking in opposition to it. On an amendment for adjournment being proposed, he refused to put it to the meeting, and put the motion for the rate instead, which was carried. A poll was then demanded, which took place on the 19th and 21st instant, when there appeared a majority in favour of the rate.

About the month of June last, the parish church of Ystradyfodwg, county of Glamorgan, fell, and that ancient structure became a mass of ruins. Since that time, two attempts were made by the churchwardens to make a rate for its reconstruction, but they were foiled in their attempts. On Friday, November 18, another vestry meeting was held, when it was proposed that a rate of one shilling in the pound should be levied on the rate payers for the purpose of commencing its rebuilding. An amendment was moved that they should postpone the consideration of the rate to the first Monday in April, 1843; the amendment was carried by a majority of 26 to 4.

The Rev. Aaron Neck, perpetual curate, or some such thing, of the parish of Kingskerswell, near Newton Abbot, has refused to bury, or to give permission to bury, an infant child, about three years of age, on the ground that it had not passed the ceremony of infant sprinkling, the parents holding baptist tenets.—*Western Times.*

The correspondent of the *Hants Independent* says "The clergy are all on the alert, as to some combined operation to be brought to bear, during next session of parliament, upon their friends in office. The incumbents of London are to meet to-morrow at Sion College to prepare the plan of action. I think their object is to obtain some more stringent law with reference to the collection and enforcement of church rates.

Puseyism.—The Rev. Mr Oakley, of St Margaret's Cavendish square, London, has just published a prayer-book, in which the prayers are printed in English on one page and in Latin on the opposite one, each paragraph beginning with a red letter. The same rev. gentleman has been long known to have had the altar in his church fitted up in the style of an altar in the catholic church.

The Convocation.—The sittings of the non-intrusion clergy terminated on Thursday night by a public meeting held in Lady Glenorchy's church. The two principal speeches were those of Drs Buchanan and Candlish. A correspondent of the *Times* says that "a motion was brought forward by Mr Paul, of the West church, to the effect that they should declare their readiness to accept of a modified measure of non-intrusion. Another proposition was, however, made by Mr Begg of Siberton, and supported by Dr Burns of Paisley, that nothing would satisfy them but the total abolition of patronage. Warm and angry debates ensued upon these propositions, which were at length terminated by a consent to wave the question of patronage for the present. The Rev. Dr Candlish then brought forward a series of resolutions, arranged so as, if possible, to meet the difficulty; and in which he proposed that the meeting should express their adherence to the principle of non-intrusion, as declared by the majority of the General Assembly; that they should transmit a memorial to government to change the law in accordance with their views; and, in the event of their request not being complied with, they should then be prepared to withdraw and resign their connexion with the state. Great discussion ensued upon these resolutions, and the division did not take place till three o'clock on the morning of Wednesday. There were present about 460 or 470 members. Of these, 100 would not vote, and the resolutions were agreed to by a majority of about 275. In the course of yesterday, however, it is understood, that upon the earnest representations of the necessity of union and numbers to have any effect upon the government, most of the dissentients gave in, and ultimately 427 members intimated their adhesion to the resolutions. When it is recollected that the ministers of the established church amount to nearly 1000, exclusive of the *quoad sacra* clergy, a little more than a third would appear to be in favour of the resolutions of the convocation. The decision of the law courts upon the legality of the *quoad sacra* clergy being considered members of the established church, which will shortly be delivered, will have considerable effect, if hostile, upon the non-intrusion question."

CORRESPONDENCE.

ORDINATION OF DISSENTING MINISTERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Dear Sir.—In your last number there is a long letter on the above subject, signed "A. B. C." Permit me to ask the writer if his letter has received the sanction of a late correspondent "M;" also to state my conviction of the necessity for the question, "Whether an individual sustaining the pastoral relationship is more fully qualified for the discharge of pastoral duties, immediately after he has submitted to an ordination service, than he

was immediately preceding that service?" against which "A. B. C" protests. The question is, doubtless, an inconvenient one, but not the less necessary, as may be shown hereafter.

I regret "A. B. C." should have endeavoured through this question to hit the "quaker mistress;" perhaps if he knew more of the body (Friends) he might feel bound to respect and esteem them, as I do, sincerely. What would he have said, if one of your correspondents on this subject, had introduced some gibe on the "rags worn at colleges, as apologies for gowns, &c.," and not confined to colleges? I know he would have said, "Quite beside the question, quite unreasonable."

Thanks to the *Nonconformist*, the question is not confined to a narrow space; Scotland and Ireland are awake to it. Well for those ministers who write on the subject, to act out the several cautions they offer others—it is truly no trifling matter.

I am, dear sir,
Yours most respectfully,
JOHN RADFORD.

Winchmore Hall, 26th November, 1842.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR—I, like many others, have watched the "Ordination" discussion, in your pages, with much interest.

The subject had long occupied my attention; and, though I do not remember to have learned anything on it from this discussion, I am truly glad that it has called forth several good pens, and elicited a free expression of opinion.

After the most diligent search I have been able to make, it appears to me that the matter stands thus:

1. The word which is rendered "appoint," Acts vi. 3, and "ordain," Titus i. 5, also occurs Mat. xxiv. 45—47; xxv. 21—33; Luke xii. 14, 42, 44; Acts vii. 10; xxvii. 25; Rom. v. 19; Heb. ii. 7; v. 1; vii. 28; and in each instance plainly means investing with authority. It is found only in three more passages, Jas. iii. 6; iv. 4; and 2 Peter i. 8; signifying, in the two first, to place or appoint, and in the last, to cause.

2. The ordinations to office in the New Testament, were all made by apostles or their delegates, as Timothy and Titus—the extraordinary officers of the churches. There is but one passage only that can possibly be deemed an exception, that is, 1 Tim. iv. 14. "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which is given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." But this passage is open to three observations. 1st. In that which was "given," prophecy and presbytery were co-ordinate agencies, which proves that it was an extraordinary case, with which we have nothing to compare. 2nd. Whoever the presbytery were, Paul was one of them. Compare 2 Tim. i. 6. The apostles sometimes called themselves presbyters. See Philemon 9 (Greek); 1 Peter v. 1; 2 John i.; and 3 John 1. Therefore it does not follow that any of the presbytery were ordinary pastors. 3rd. That which "was given," was an inward supernatural "gift," a very different thing from office. How strange it is that so much has been built on such a slight foundation.

3. The ordinations done by the apostles were a creation of offices, and a filling them for the first time.

4. The "laying on of hands" was commonly accompanied by the bestowment of the supernatural gifts, Acts viii. & xviii; xix. 6; compare Acts vi. 8; viii. 6, 7.

5. The New Testament impositions were not confined to the ordaining of pastors, but laid on children, Math. xix. 15—on the sick as a token of supernatural power to heal, Mark v. 23; xvi. 18—on the deacons, Acts vi. 6—and on Paul and Barnabas, men already in office as apostles, and done by prophets—a case impossible in our times.

6. No command was ever given to the church, to perpetuate ordinations by impositions of hands by men already in office. "Lay hands suddenly on no man," Tim. v. 22, probably relates to discipline. See the context. But if not, it was a direction to Timothy in his peculiar work as an "evangelist," or delegated apostle by Paul to do his work, and in a character with which we have none that can quadrate now. (See Dr Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.—p. 88.)

7. Election of officers belonged to the people; but ordination to the apostles or their deputies only, Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23. Such are the facts of the case. The conclusion, to my mind, is that ordinations by men in office and laying on of hands has ceased, as peculiar to the first settling of pastors and deacons; and that all that remains, is the election of them by the people; which may fitly be publicly recognised by other pastors and churches assisting in the services; and such services seem important to prevent improper officers intruding themselves, and to promote union among the churches.

Yours truly,
Cranfield, Beds, Nov. 24, 1842. THOMAS OWEN.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Mine, it appears, is the fate of all who enter upon the arena of controversy—my opponents "cannot possibly see the conclusion at which I arrive"—at a loss to know why I should separate things that differ—seem as though I was arguing with persons who dispense with the pastoral office—write puzzling questions about pastors being regularly chosen—take pains to refute what is not disputed—make quotations which no one will swallow as a composing draught—pass over the great question at issue—make giants for the purpose of slaying them, which is too bad—raise clouds of dust before people's eyes—and half accused of leaven of Puseyism and of apostolical succession. Well may it be said that a man, to see his face, must go to his enemy's looking-glass. If all this be true, I must be blind as the mole, crooked as the serpent, and dull and stupid as the ass. Now all this sounds very strange, as (if you will allow me to write my own character) I am a very plain, straightforward, transparent sort of man in all I say and do—people say there is no tortuosity about me; they know what I mean by what I say—I could suffer, be, or do anything for the elect's sake—I abhor all aristocratic and priestly views—I am a thorough dissenter, even to "the dissidence of dissent"—I believe all national churches to be national curses—and as for Puseyism and apostolical succession, I look upon them as the last folly of brainless priests. Now, sir, I wish to stand right with my opponents, and I trust they will think more favourably of my character, though drawn by my own hand, than of my commentary in the *Nonconformist*. One of my opponents falls into a slight mistake when he says that "I take pains to refute what is not disputed." This is not correct, for, in a former number one of your correspondents adduces, as a case in point, that of a home missionary who, on being requested by a church to administer the Lord's supper, refused on the ground of not being ordained, which your correspondent considered as a very unnecessary scruple of conscience. It was against the idea that the church had power to delegate the appropriate duties of the pastoral office. It was to check this bold and novel innovation on the scriptural order of the house of God that my remarks were directed; opposed to which I might range the opinions of the early fathers, the whole evidence of ecclesiastical history, the writings of the most learned divines, and the practice of the universal church. Dr Owen says, "No part of the power which belongs to a church essentially can be delegated." But we are much more fortunate than the most of controversialists—we agree. I have been "taking pains to refute what is not disputed," it seems. Now I wrote to show that the pastoral office could not be delegated, and to establish the scriptural connexion between the pastoral office and the proper administration of the Lord's supper; if this be not disputed, then all I ask is granted. The point at issue, then, which controversialists generally see "eye to eye" at the close of the discussion, may be put into a nut-shell, viz., What constitutes ordination in the scriptural sense of the term? In whom is the power vested? I answer, it is vested in the church by the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be exercised under proper regulations. Ordination is the united choice of the people, openly declared in publicly calling the individual to take the oversight of them in the Lord. The parade and show, the costly dinners and drinking of healths, now and then to be seen on such occasions, are to be deprecated in the severest terms. Whether the attendance of neighbouring ministers and churches is necessary, I do not say; it savours of brotherly kindness and charity. As the brother should stand right in the estimation of his Christian brethren generally, with whom, in many things, he may be called to co-operate, this proof of their approbation is important. It is matter of grave discussion whether churches in this appointment should not precede the occasion by a season of solemn fasting and prayer. The idea that any mysterious power or sanctity is imparted to the man by this act is more than half popish. On this matter I believe my ideas and predilections are as simple, unostentatious, and scriptural as those of my opponents; and thus doubly agreed, we must be one. The sentence, more than once uttered, That a minister before and after ordination is the same man (what, therefore, can the act impart to him?) has not all the weight which at first sight may appear. After marriage a man is the same as before; but the law of his wife, of his country, and of his God, look upon him in a new light. He has new duties which he only can discharge, and new relationships which he only can fill.

The questions which your Plymouth correspondent proposes he, no doubt, considers as posers; and, indeed, as it is often said, a child may ask questions which a wise man cannot answer. Now, the last of his three interrogatories—"In whom is the power of ordaining to the pastoral office vested?" I have already answered.

The first, "Who administered the Lord's supper at Jerusalem, Acts ii, 42, 46, and at Corinth, 1 Cor. xi, 23, 24?" is so easy that he who runs may read. Let any one peruse the second chapter of Acts, and ask himself under whose sermon were 3,000 converted? Answer, The apostle's. In whose doctrine did the disciples continue stedfast? Answer, The apostle's. By whose hands were miracles wrought? Answer, by The apostles'. And yet it is insinuated as if some else broke bread. Will your correspondent say whether any wine was used on the occasion, as no cup is mentioned?

As it regards 1 Cor. xi, 23-26, your correspondent does not mean to say that the Saviour appointed a permanent ordinance without an administrator. The ordinance at Corinth could not be self-administered; this would be mysterious. A promiscuous administration would be disorderly. And a party administration the apostle condems in the severest terms. The apostle expressly declares he "delivered" this ordinance to them. How? Certainly prior to his writing this epistle, as he is here reminding them of the fact which, doubtless, refers to his personal administration of the ordinance amongst them.

The third question, "Is there a single instance in the New Testament of a pastor or an apostle, or any one, administering the ordinance except Christ?" I unhesitatingly answer, Yes, there is: see 1 Cor. xi, 23-26. "The cup of blessing which we bless," and "The bread which we break"—Who does the apostle mean by the plural pronoun here? All the members of the church? Nothing could be more absurd. Himself, evidently, and his fellow-apostles. The pronouns "ye" and "you" are used a dozen times, at least, in the six verses, in application to the church in contradistinction to "we." In the directions addressed to the church at Corinth, respecting the right administration of the ordinance, the apostle copies the example and uses the very words of our Lord in the original celebration, "This is my body," &c. Not being present at the origin of the institution by the Redeemer (being "as one born out of due time"), he received it by immediate revelation from heaven—he received it of the Lord Jesus to deliver to the church; but why reveal to the apostle for the observance of the church an ordinance which was never to pass from the holy hands of the Saviour or to survive his death? The fact, then, that the apostle delivered this ordinance to the church at Corinth, after the example and in the very words of our Lord, clearly proves two things—first, that the apostle delivered or administered this ordinance personally; and secondly, that it is designed to be continued in, and perpetuated by, the church. Instead, therefore, of writing on this subject, which your correspondent purposes doing, he had better sit at the feet of instruction, by asking questions for some time to come. "Is there a single instance in the New Testament," said a minister, "of a female sitting down at the Lord's table?" Just as if females could be disciples, and have directions given to them as members of the church, how to behave themselves in the house of God, and yet not communicants? "I have been reading the epistle to the Ephesians," said a friend, "and find no pastor mentioned; it is a strong proof of what I have often thought to be the case in the primitive churches, that the people preached and administered the ordinances among themselves." But when I pointed him to the 20th chapter of the Acts, where Paul, when at Miletus, sent for the elders of Ephesus; and to the fact, that sixty years after the Saviour's ascension, he addressed an epistle to "the angel of the church of Ephesus," and asked him who this angel could possibly be, he was quite confounded. Your Plymouth correspondent may perhaps see the force and amount of his own question in these. Trusting that in all such discussions dissenters may better understand the practice of the first churches, and maintain the scriptural order of the house of God,

I remain, yours very respectfully,
S—— Nook, Nov. 14, 1842. M.

THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

The usual weekly meeting of the executive committee was held on Monday last, at the office of the Union, Waterloo street, Birmingham, when the following business was attended to:—

The Secretary reported that a circular had been forwarded to the district superintendents, along with a tabular view of the mode of operation.

The subject of issuing a weekly reporter was continued.

The Secretary reported that the draft of a bill, to be submitted to the conference, was in progress; and he hoped to be able to lay the whole of it before the council at an early meeting. Several of the most important clauses are already prepared.

Resolved—"That Mr Albright be appointed to correspond with the friends of our cause throughout the country, with the view to induce them to engage the local newspaper press in our favour."

Moved by Mr Morgan, seconded by the Rev. J. P. Mursell, and resolved unanimously—

"That in order to prevent any unfair interference in the elections for the several metropolitan districts, this council earnestly recommend that these elections be held on the same day and hour; and that a strict observance be paid to the rule, that each place, sending representatives, shall arrange for defraying their expenses. And this committee declare that they cannot receive, as delegates from the metropolitan districts, any persons except they are appointed at simultaneous meetings."

Letters were read from—W. Lockhart, Kirkcaldy; T. Spencer, Bath; Thomas Beggs, Nottingham; P. Brewster, Paisley; W. Lovett,

London; W. Tullis, and J. G. Stewart, Markinch; W. Whitehead, Bradford; H. Edgar, Coventry; F. J. Thompson, Bridgwater; Thomas Thompson, Bishop Wearmouth; George Green, Market Harboro'; William Leash, Chapmanslade; J. Allen, Sheffield; William Fraser, Ipswich; from Robert Dias of East Wemyss, enclosing a remittance, and wishing more cards forwarded; and from Rev. A. Burdett of Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, with a remittance for cards, and stating, "I have just formed a little society at Buckby, for the purpose of diffusing these righteous principles."

IPSWICH.—ELECTION OF DELEGATES.—On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings last Mr Vincent delivered lectures on complete suffrage at Mr H. May's large warehouse, St Peter's. From the length of the interesting report below, of the election of delegates to the conference, furnished us by the Ipswich correspondent of the Union, we are unable to devote any space to the report of his lectures. Such was the enthusiasm that he created, that at the close of Mr Vincent's first lecture he was escorted to his quarters by a body guard of several hundred attendants. After the second lecture Mr T. Mason protested against the doctrines Mr Vincent enounced, and expressed his intention of putting a resolution to the meeting for the election of delegates on the subject. Our contemporary the *Suffolk Chronicle* says, "Mr Vincent's popularity, and the advancement of the cause he so effectively advocates, are on the daily increase. It is hardly possible to conceive of greater enthusiasm than that by which Mr Vincent is received whenever he presents himself on the public platform." According to public notice, our meeting for the election of delegates was convened on Friday in a large warehouse capable of holding between 2,000 and 3,000 people, which was densely crammed, kindly lent us by W. May, Esq., a liberal and enlightened gentleman of this town. W. Fraser was unanimously called to the chair. After reading an extract of a paper issued by the council, and pronouncing the meeting to be legal, he briefly stated the objects for which it was convened; viz., to respond to the invitation of the council in sending four delegates to the Birmingham conference. That the Complete Suffrage Union had prepared to nominate four, who were pledged to these views; but the meeting were at liberty to nominate any others they pleased, it being for them, and not the Complete Suffrage Union, to appoint the delegates. The business then proceeded in precisely the same order as at the Birmingham election. The two resolutions were passed, when the following persons were nominated—Henry Vincent, W. Fraser, D. M'Pherson, W. Garrod, W. Hunter, Robert Booley, James Pearce. On the candidates being first put all were returned; the second time Hunter and Pearce were rejected, and a division was made between M'Pherson and Booley, which was finally pronounced in favour of the former. The first two on the list being carried unanimously, the result was the return of the four candidates first proposed. The whole proceedings went off without the least disturbance. Except the little confusion which arose in the division for M'Pherson and Booley, the greatest good feeling was displayed; as proof of which Mr Mason, a tory, who on a previous evening expressed his attachment to the present government, and declared he should take the sense of the town upon the propriety of sending delegates to the conference, came forward and stated that, seeing the strong and unanimous feeling which prevailed in the meeting, he should think it intrusive to bring forward such a motion; and that if the meeting would allow him, he would sit down quietly and see the people elect their representatives. An example was set by this body of intelligent men worthy the imitation of others. A vote of thanks was proposed to W. May, Esq., and to the Chairman. The meeting being dissolved, loud cries were given for Mr Vincent, who came forward and addressed them for nearly an hour. The enthusiastic manner in which Mr Vincent has been received here is beyond description, and the effect is such as hardly to leave a doubt of his return, in the event of another election. The principles have taken deep root in a great portion of the electoral body, and many who were timid of so wide and just an extension of the suffrage are now convinced of the safety of it.

NOTTINGHAM.—ELECTION OF DELEGATES.—A public meeting was held on Monday last, in the Town hall, Nottingham, to elect four delegates to represent that borough in the Birmingham conference. The Mayor had granted the use of the Town hall for the purpose, though he declined calling the meeting. Mr John Bridges was called to the chair. After a few preliminary formula, it was moved and seconded that four delegates be sent from Nottingham to the Birmingham conference. Mr Goodliffe, after a short eulogium on the character of Mr Thomas Beggs, proposed him as a delegate, and was seconded by J. Smith, Esq., town councillor. Mr Greensmith proposed, and Mr G. Rogers seconded, the nomination of Mr W. H. Mott. Mr Alderman Frearson congratulated the meeting on its orderly and peaceful character, and said it would do credit to the best men in England, if their conduct continued to be of the same description. He concluded by proposing Samuel Bean, Esq., who was seconded by Thomas Cullen, Esq. Mr George Harrison of Calverton, and Mr R. T. Morrison, both members of the chartist association, were then nominated. On Mr C. Roberts being proposed, he came forward, and said he was ready on all occasions to serve them, but he knew that an arrangement had been entered into by the Complete Suffrage association and the charter association, to return an equal number of delegates. Mr Mott and Mr Morrison were the persons agreed to on behalf of the chartists, and he would not be a party to break the good faith which had hitherto subsisted. Mr Brophy, who was also proposed, declined on the same grounds. Mr Benbage then asked Mr Beggs if he was aware whether any of the villages around Nottingham intended to send delegates? Mr Beggs having stated that he thought it likely some of the more populous villages will send delegates, Mr Benbage made some observations on the evils of representatives being chosen for places in which they did not reside—instanced several cases in the history of Nottingham, and argued the impropriety of Mr Harrison being sent as representative for a place, of which he was not a native. The election of the delegates then took place, and was proceeded with in a manner similar to that adopted at Birmingham. The three candidates first proposed were elected, and a show of hands was taken for Mr Harrison and Mr Morrison, when the latter was declared elected by a large majority; the meeting evidently feeling that the proposal to introduce Mr Harrison was a contravention of the arrangements made by a committee consisting of members of both associations. A vote of thanks was, however, proposed to Mr Harrison, who made a very foolish and angry speech in reply. The delegates consist of two members of the Complete Suffrage association, Samuel Bean, Esq., president, and Thomas Beggs, Esq., secretary; and two members of the National Charter association, Mr W. H. Mott, and Mr R. T. Morrison. Votes of thanks were passed to the Mayor for the use of the hall, and to the Chairman. Though the hall was densely crowded, and a large number of persons remained outside, unable to obtain admission, no disturbanee took place. The Complete Suffrage association in the town is progressing. A news-room has been opened, and is likely to be well attended by working men, and will no doubt be greatly conducive to the spread of useful intelligence amongst them. The terms are exceedingly moderate.

KETTERING.—ELECTION OF DELEGATES.—On Friday evening last, a public meeting was held in the Temperance room, for the purpose of electing two persons as delegates to the approaching conference at Birmingham. Previous to the meeting, an arrangement had been made between the Complete Suffrage society and the Chartist association, that each candidate should be proposed by a member of one society, and seconded by a member of the other. Mr Wells, a member of both societies, having been unanimously called to the chair, opened the business of the meeting by reading the circular issued by the Complete Suffrage council, appointing the day for holding the conference; and also the requisition which had been sent to the high constable, with the answer received from him. He then called upon the meeting to choose such persons as they thought proper. In compliance with this call, the Rev. J. Jenkinson proposed the Rev. William Robinson, as a proper person to be sent as a delegate for Kettering. Mr Hales (a chartist), seconded the proposition. Mr J. Goode, jun., secretary of the Chartist association, proposed Mr Edward Jenkinson (a chartist), Mr Taylor, treasurer of the Complete Suffrage society, seconded the proposition. Mr Roddis, treasurer of the Chartist society, proposed Mr W. Imott, and Mr Leatherland, a member of the Complete Suffrage committee, seconded the proposition. A show of hands having been taken for each candidate, the election was declared to have fallen on Messrs Robinson and Jenkinson. A resolution was adopted requiring the delegates to vote for annual parliaments; and another, expressive of the wish of the meeting that the conference should adopt the name of chartism as well as its principles; it being, nevertheless, clearly understood that, on the latter point the delegates are left to the unfettered exercise of their own judgment. A vote of thanks having been unanimously given to the Chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

COVENTRY.—ELECTION OF DELEGATES.—On Friday evening, 25th November, a public meeting was held, in pursuance of a handbill circulated a few days previously, in the Chartist association room, for the purpose of electing delegates to the forthcoming conference to be held in Birmingham. About sixty persons assembled, nearly all chartists and non-electors; and after several speeches had been delivered, intended to show the impossibility of any union with the middle classes, except by the latter joining the chartist body, Peter Hoy and John Starkey, were elected as proper persons to represent the city of Coventry at the conference; having first pledged themselves to stick to the charter, "name and all," at all risks, and in all events. These two men will, of course, be joints in O'Connor's tail, and support him in all he does, but particularly in any attacks he may make on the Complete Suffrage movement, which they openly denounce.

SHEFFIELD.—In consequence of an announcement by the O'Connor section of the chartists of this borough, of their intention of holding a meeting on Thursday last, to elect delegates to the Birmingham conference, the members of the Complete Suffrage Union held a meeting on Tuesday night, the Rev. H. G. Rhodes in the chair. Mr Barker, in a speech expressing regret at the unseemly interference of another portion of the democratic movement, moved, "That this meeting recommend the Union not to interfere with the public meeting for the election of delegates, to be held in Paradise square." This was seconded by Mr Hughes, who made a few observations on the importance of the forthcoming conference and the duty of reformers, and unanimously carried. Mr W. Ibbett, in a very appropriate speech, lamenting the present disunion amongst the friends of democracy, moved, "That the committee are requested to announce by placard our decision." The motion was ably spoken to by Mr Little and other friends, and passed unanimously. Mr Morton moved that the following be the placard, "The Sheffield Complete Suffrage Union beg to inform the public, they have taken no part in calling the public meeting to be held in Paradise square to-morrow (Thursday), and that they do not intend to take any part in its proceedings. Any person or persons, elected at that meeting for any purpose whatever, will not be considered by them as representing their opinions and interests." Mr Beal seconded the motion, and had hoped that the bitter experience of the past would have taught the chartists wisdom. The chairman offered some observations vindicatory of his character as a minister of religion, taking part in a movement of a political nature, which elicited much applause. After some other observations by several friends, the motion was carried without dissent. A vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the meeting dissolved. The chartists of the town, however, held their meeting on Thursday, and very coolly elected four delegates. Their names are Richard Abbott, Samuel Parkes, George Julian Harvey, and William Beesley. The *Northern Star* merely announces the election without any report of the meeting.

LONDON.—BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE.—The committee to which reference was made in our last number, appointed between the Parliamentary Reform and Charter associations, and which consists of fifteen chartists, three of the Reform association, and three of the National association, held a meeting last week, and appointed a treasurer and finance committee, which the chartists appointed out of their own number. Mr Morley gave notice of a motion for the next meeting, to the effect that the meetings for the election of delegates be simultaneous.

At a meeting of the National association held on Tuesday evening, Mr Neesom gave an account of the proceedings of the above-named committee, and, after a long discussion, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"A partial meeting having been called in London, at which a committee was appointed, professing to unite all shades of reformers for the purpose of sending delegates to the Birmingham conference; but the persons which appointed that committee having, by their proceedings, already proved themselves anti-democratic and

unjust, having negatived a proposition for simultaneous meetings, and having, moreover, resolved to have a general fund, instead of each locality having its own, this association, in consequence of such conduct, advise the radical reformers of London to organise committees in their respective districts, to have their own local treasurer, and choose their own representatives, independent of such general committee."

FINSBURY.—A meeting of reformers of this borough was held on Monday week, for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to send delegates to the forthcoming conference at Birmingham. Mr Taperall, of the City road, was voted to the chair, on the motion of Mr Bennett, seconded by Mr Peat; a considerable number of the inhabitants were added to the committee calling the meeting on that evening. A sub-committee was also appointed for the purpose of devising the best means of carrying out the object of the meeting, and laying before them the report on the next meeting. It was also agreed to get up a requisition of the electors, issue collecting books, &c. They then adjourned. On Thursday the committee again met at the Hall of the National association, Mr Elt in the chair. Many were added to the committee, making in all about sixty, when it was agreed that the election for such cease. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the election for delegates to the forthcoming conference at Birmingham should take place simultaneously, that being the best means of preventing any individual from voting at more than one meeting; therefore, recommend each metropolitan district to adopt the same."

TROWBRIDGE.—At the desire of the "North Wilts Reform association," the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charter-house, delivered a lecture at Trowbridge on Tuesday last. The admission was by ticket; and the room, which was capable of accommodating 300, was crowded. Mr Haden was called to the chair, and introduced the lecturer with some few preliminary observations on the importance of subjecting the question of parliamentary reform to a thorough discussion. Mr Spencer's lecture was in substance similar to those which he has lately delivered in the midland counties. He illustrated his subject as much as possible by local allusions, pointed out with great clearness the origin, evils, and remedy of class legislation, and explained in a popular manner, what constituted a full, fair, and free representation of the people. His address lasted about two hours, and was listened to with profound attention, and received with approbation throughout. Mr E. W. Anstie, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Rev. Mr Spencer, explained the principles of the North Wilts Reform association, and stated that there was a difference of opinion as to the extent to which a further reform should be carried, though he himself agreed with all the lecturer had advanced.

WOODBRIDGE.—Mr Vincent delivered a lecture here on Saturday evening in the theatre, on the principle of complete suffrage; and although the evening was unfavourable, and the prejudice great in this agricultural town, there was a large attendance of highly respectable and influential people. Mr Vincent was happy and effective in his illustrations, riveting the breathless attention of the audience, who received the announcement of his intention to pay them another visit during the coming spring, with loud and repeated applause. We trust this visit will be the means of removing the prejudices of the middle classes, and strengthening the hands of the Complete Suffrage Union in the town. The name of Joseph Sturge was hailed with much enthusiasm; the audience rising simutaneously, and giving him three hearty cheers. It is expected two delegates will be sent from this place.

WESTBURY, WILTS.—Mr C. Clark (of Bath) delivered a second lecture on the great principles of complete suffrage, and the evils of class legislation, on Monday the 21st instant, at the National Complete Suffrage Union room; and although but one day's notice was given, the attendance was numerous and respectable. The Rev. W. Leask of Chapmanslade also very ably addressed the meeting, on the justice of the people's claims to a full, fair, and free representation in their house of Commons; and urged the necessity of combined and increasing efforts to obtain political freedom. An excellent spirit was manifested by the speakers, and the marked attention and unanimity of the audience was most encouraging, and would have done credit to any cause. A public meeting is announced for Monday the 28th inst., for the purpose of appointing two delegates to the Birmingham conference, when Mr C. Clarke and the Rev. W. Leask have engaged to attend.

MODBURY, WILTS.—At a meeting of the Modbury Complete Suffrage Union, held Nov. 15, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—"That in order to carry out the objects of the Union, and to make them more fully known, public meetings be held weekly, their principles discussed, and a general invitation given to all parties to attend." "That the *Nonconformist* newspaper be taken in by the society, and read at their meetings, it being a powerful and zealous advocate of the people's rights." On Tuesday, the 22nd of November, the first meeting took place, in accordance with the above resolution; it was very well attended, and all seemed highly pleased with the night's proceedings.

LEEDS.—On Thursday evening, a public meeting was held in the North West ward of this borough, on the subject of complete suffrage. The meeting was addressed by Dr Smiles, in illustration of the principles, at considerable length. He was followed by Mr Glover, who further illustrated the principles in an able and luminous manner. On a chartist asking why the name of the charter had not been adopted, an angry discussion ensued, in which the chartists present (who constituted a great majority of the meeting) repelled the charges brought against their leaders by Mr Glover, and made various recriminatory charges in their turn. The issue was—the unanimous passing of a resolution brought forward by Mr Glover, in favour of the principles of complete suffrage which the speakers had advocated; and the passing of another resolution brought forward by Mr Scott, declaratory of confidence in Feargus O'Connor, Esq., as a leader of the working classes.

SOUND ADVICE.—The Rev. P. Brewster, in a short Address to the Complete Suffrage associations of Scotland, recommends them to hold their meetings for the election of delegates on the same day, and at the same hour; and reminds them that, in the event of their not being able to send to the conference their full complement of representatives, they may appoint the rest from persons residing in Birmingham, without any additional expense.

GLASGOW.—The Complete Suffrage Association of Glasgow held a meeting in the Trades' hall, on Wednesday evening last, to take into consideration the preparations necessary for the election of delegates to the approaching conference to be held next month, in Birmingham. The chief object of the meeting was to decide upon the number of delegates that should be sent from Glasgow. The subject was introduced by Mr Macfarlane, who proposed that six delegates should be sent. The resolution was seconded by Mr Nunchie; and the statement of the pecuniary and other resources of the association was so satisfactory, that the resolution was unanimously agreed to. Mr Malcolm, jun., in a short explanatory address, moved the following resolutions as instructions to the delegates to be appointed:—

"1. That they support a bill for the extension of the elective franchise to every man twenty-one years of age, who is not disqualified by the verdict of a jury of his countrymen; the abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament; vote by ballot; equal electoral districts; the payment of members to serve in the Commons house of parliament, and annual parliaments.

"2. That they support all motions which have for their object the most decided expression of opinion in opposition to all monopolies, whether of church or state, and above all, the monopoly of class legislation.

"3. That, as the decisions of the forthcoming conference are likely to form the basis of a new and important national agitation, combining all classes of reformers, the Glasgow delegates be left to the freedom of their own choice, to adopt whatever name may appear best fitted to distinguish our future operations, and the character of our union.

"4. That they be further pledged to adopt legal and constitutional means, and only such, for the carrying out of these principles; and

"5. That this association will not countenance or support any delegate who does not pledge himself to use his best endeavours to carry out these declarations."

Mr John Rodger, secretary of the association, seconded the above instructions, and argued at some length, with his accustomed ability, for their adoption. Considerable discussion ensued on these resolutions. The first was agreed to unanimously. On the second there was some difference of opinion. The vote being taken, the meeting decided in favour of the clause, only half-a-dozen hands being held up in opposition. On the third instruction there was also much discussion. It ended, however, in a similar result. The fourth and fifth were unanimously approved of. On the question of this association having any connexion with the Charter association in the sending of delegates, Mr Chisholm moved a resolution. Mr Malcolm reminded the association of the danger they placed themselves in if they received any communication from another political association, and pointed to the Anti-correspondence act to show its illegality. Mr Chisholm denied that he appeared with any communication from the Charter association. The motion he proposed was his own, and as a member of the complete suffrage body he proposed it. After some discussion, during which the idea of any connexion, pecuniary or otherwise, with the old-move party, in the election of delegates to the Birmingham conference, was indignantly repudiated. The following resolution, proposed by Mr Macfarlane, and seconded by Mr Malcolm, was all but unanimously adopted:—

"That this association agree to appoint a committee to get up a public meeting of the inhabitants of Glasgow for the election of delegates to the Complete Suffrage conference at Birmingham, and instruct them to give no pecuniary or other support to delegates who do not represent its views, both in regard to principles and policy, for the achievement of the success of our cause."

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting quietly broke up at rather a late hour.

The *Glasgow Saturday Post* says, "that it is the intention of the O'Connorite chartists to endeavour to pack the meeting with persons not inhabitants of Glasgow, and send their delegates at the expense of the association. We are therefore glad to see that the association have acted up to the occasion.

MARKINCH.—On the evening of Monday, a public meeting called by the committee appointed some time ago for forming a complete suffrage union here, was held in the society's hall, J. G. Stuart, Esq., Balgonie mills, in the chair. Mr Tullis, Auchmuty mill, being called on, moved that a "Complete Suffrage union be formed for Markinch and its neighbourhood," and read a number of rules detailing its objects and management. In order that there might be no mistake as to the meaning of "complete suffrage," Mr Tullis read the resolutions agreed on at the last Birmingham conference, which detailed fully the object contemplated by the Union. Mr P. Ballingall seconded the resolution. Several friends of the cause then addressed the meeting in able and convincing addresses, which occasionally called forth loud bursts of approbation. At the conclusion the Chairman asked if any one present had anything to say, or questions to put; but no one rising to do so, Mr D. Crockatt moved a vote of thanks to him for his conduct in the chair, which was seconded by Mr W. Melville. The meeting, which was numerously attended, passed off in the most peaceable and orderly manner.

ARBROATH.—The friends of complete suffrage in this town are beginning to bestir themselves. Circulars are now going round the workshops and electors favourable to that object. In one work alone, 30 have enrolled themselves as members, and others in like proportion, owing, in a great measure, to the more favourable light in which this movement is viewed, than "that hydra-headed monster Chartism," as the whig press are pleased to term it.

GENERAL NEWS.

FOREIGN.

CHINA.

A *Gazette* extraordinary was published on Thursday night, containing all the despatches received by government from China and India on the subject of the victories of the British troops in those countries. The Emperor of China's assent to the provisions of the treaty had been intimated through an imperial edict, as will be gathered from the following dispatch, issued by Sir H. Pottinger, her Majesty's plenipotentiary, to Admiral Sir William Parker and Lieutenant-general Sir H. Gough, commander of the expedition:—

"GENTLEMEN—The treaty of peace having now been happily signed, and the Emperor's assent to its provisions having likewise been intimated through an imperial edict, addressed to the high commissioners and Governor-general, of which I enclose a translation, I feel anxious to relieve the people from the great distress and inconvenience which the present embargo on this river causes; and should your excellencies concur in these sentiments, I beg that his excellency the Admiral will issue the necessary orders, and also send instructions by the steamers under dispatch to her Majesty's ships at Chinhae and Amoy, not to interfere further with the trade of those places. The tone of the documents to which the signatures of the Chinese autho-

rities are affixed, amply demonstrates the improved position of our relations with them. Instead of designating us 'barbarians,' and 'the evil eye,' we are now flattered with iteration and the reiteration of 'the honourable nation,' 'the most honourable nation,' and 'the honourable nation highly prizing justice and good faith,' 'the most powerful nation,' &c. &c."

A supplement of the *Canton Gazette* asserts that an officer of high rank is immediately to be sent from the court of Pekin to represent his sovereign at the court of St James's.

The *Chronicle*'s correspondent sums up a few additional particulars—

"It appears the Emperor at first objected to throw open the port of Foo-chow-foo, on the ground that as this place was within seventy miles of the tract of country where the black teas are grown, the English would take their cargoes in here, instead of at Canton (which is four hundred miles off), and consequently the trade of the latter place would be ruined. The plenipotentiary, however, refused to yield the point; and his Majesty was obliged ultimately to give way.

"At the time the Sesostris left Nankin, the mandarins appeared most anxious for our departure from this neighbourhood; and the 6,000,000 dollars required to be paid ere the expedition would be withdrawn was in the course of collection. Four millions, indeed, had been already tendered as an instalment; but Sir H. Pottinger refused to receive anything less than the whole sum.

"Immediately after the signature of the treaty, it was despatched to the Emperor for ratification; and on its return, which was expected in about ten days, Major Malcolm was to convey it to England, *viâ* Suez, by the H. C. steamer Auckland.

"At the time of the settlement of differences, sickness had begun to appear extensively among the men, both of the land and sea. Upwards of a hundred belonging to the ninety-eighth regiment had died."

To prove the bravery of the Chinese troops the following extract from a dispatch by Major-general Shoedde will suffice:—

"As we had only three ladders, reinforcements could not follow very quickly; and the enemy defended himself with the greatest gallantry, disputing every inch of ground, and fighting hand to hand with our men. Major Warren, commanding the fifty-fifth foot, after he was wounded himself, cut down two of the enemy, and was personally engaged with a third, whilst the fifty-fifth and rifle company, thirty-sixth Madras native infantry, were obliged to carry every angle and embrasure at the point of the bayonet."

Another extract or two will show the fearful butchery and appalling scenes that followed the attacks on these poor deluded Chinese. In speaking of the assault on Chin-Keang-foo, Sir Hugh Gough says—

"A great number of those who escaped our fire committed suicide, after destroying their families. The loss of life has been, therefore, appalling; and it may be said that the Mantchoo race in this city is extinct. As in all other places we have taken, the respectable inhabitants have fled, as well as the local authorities. The suburbs are larger than the city, which is about four miles in circumference. Plunderers, flocking in by hundreds from the country, have joined the populace; and such is their systematic mode of proceeding, that in one instance which came to my knowledge. they set fire to both ends of a street in the western suburb, where there was a large pawnbroker's shop (uniformly the first object of pillage) in order to check all interruption, while they carried off their booty by the side lanes."

And again, "I never saw such loss of life and property as took place here: we lost officers and men enough, but it is impossible even to compute the loss of the Chinese; for when they found they could stand no longer against us, they cut the throats of their wives and children, or drove them into wells and ponds, and then destroyed themselves: in many houses there were from eight to twelve dead bodies, and I myself saw a dozen women and children drowning themselves in a small pond the day after the fight. The whole of the city and suburbs are a mass of ruins; whole streets have been burnt down, and the place has been completely gutted by Chinese plunderers."

INDIA.

A supplement to the government gazette extraordinary in India, published in London on Wednesday night, announces the gratifying intelligence that all the prisoners, save one, have been restored. The account is contained in a letter from General Pollock, dated Camp, Cabul, 21st of September, 1842, addressed to the Governor-general—

"It gives me great gratification to be enabled to state that the whole of the European prisoners are now quite free from the hands of Mahommed Akhbar, except Captain Bygrave. I will make my official report on this subject whenever they reach my camp, which will no doubt be to-morrow. I sent a lightly equipped force, under Sir R. Sale, to meet them; and the whole of the party is with him, with the following exceptions, who have already reached my camp:—

"Major Pottinger, arrived this morning; also Captain Johnson, Mrs Trevor and eight children; Captain and Mrs Anderson; and three children; Captain Troup and Dr Campbell, one European woman and four privates."

A private letter, dated "Boodkhak, September 14th," which appears to be written by General Pollock, contains the following important information of the future movements of the British army:—

"I now think we have done all that could be expected of us, short of destroying the city; and if we did that, we might starve, for we have only five days' supplies in camp. Nott will be here to-morrow or next day; and we have now merely to lay in grain, procure carriage-cattle, and return. Our arrival here has caused great rejoicing to many. I have been overwhelmed with presents of fruit. I shall commence my march back some time next month; and I hope the days will then be cooler: they are now very hot."

In the city of Ghuznee, General Nott found 327 Sepoys of the 27th native infantry, in slavery. They confirmed the story of Colonel Palmer's having been tortured; but he was not dead, having been taken to Cabul, and thence to Bameean, with the other Cabul prisoners.

A letter from Jellalabad of the 20th September, renders an account of the remains of several of the slaughtered Cabul army—

"On Sunday last, seven officers and about twelve artillery-men, with some of Thomas's Khyburries, went as far as the hill, three miles on the other side of Gundamuck, where it is said our soldiers of the 44th and some of the artillery and 5th cavalry made their last stand, for the purpose of burying the bodies exposed to public gaze. They buried (within a square made of stones) 162 bodies, and covered them over with stones. On Sunday morning, another party was sent out, who found and buried 70 men; so that 232 skeletons have at length been lodged in their earthly tenement."

Lord Ellenborough had ordered the resumption of the works to construct the Great Dooab canal.

The Marquis of Tweedale had reached his government at Madras.

Another ship, the Eleanor, was burned by Lascars on board, at Alepee, on the 29th September, on its way from Bombay to Calcutta.

There was a report that Lord Ellenborough had determined to hang Akhbar Khan, on bringing home to him the murder of Sir William M'Naghten.

The following important announcement of the evacuation of Affghanistan, appeared in a Government Gazette Extraordinary in the shape of a proclamation from the Governor-General of India:—

"SECRET DEPARTMENT, SIMLA, OCT. 1, 1842.—The government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Affghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects.

"The chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign represented to be popular was replaced upon his throne; but, after events which brought into question his fidelity to the government by which he was restored, he lost, by the hands of an assassin, the throne he had only held amidst insurrections; and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

"Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and by the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune: and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Ghuznee and Cabul, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

"The British army in possession of Affghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej.

"The Governor-General will leave it to the Affghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes.

"To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burden of supporting a sovereign without the prospect of benefit from his alliance.

"The Governor-General will willingly recognise any government approved by the Affghans themselves, which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states.

"Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs its allies, and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects.

"The rivers of the Punjaub and the Indus, and the mountainous passes and the barbarous tribes of Affghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west, if, indeed, such an enemy there can be, and no longer betwixt the army and its supplies.

"The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force, in a false military position, at a distance from its own frontier and its resources, will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement of the country and of the people.

"The combined army of England and of India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any force which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won, in security and in honour.

"The Governor-General cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing to surrounding states the pacific and conservative policy of his government.

"Affghanistan and China have seen at once the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied.

"Sincerely attached to peace, for the sake of the benefit it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India,
"T. H. MADDOCK,
"Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General."

SPAIN.

The latest news from Barcelona represents the insurrection as assuming an aspect of serious importance. A telegrahic communication from Madrid, dated the 20th inst, states that two regiments are said to have revolted in Arragon. A later account from Perpignan, published in the Paris journals, states that Vich, Mauresa, Igualada, Valls, Girona, Reuss, and Tarragona, have declared for the junta. At Figueras the authorities have returned to the citadel. Van Halen has returned from San Felice to Sarria. The mail due from Saragossa at Madrid on the 20th had not arrived. The following programme had been issued by the provisional Junta:—"1. Down with Espartero and his government. 2. Constitutional cortes. 3. In case of a regency, but one regent. 4. In case of a marriage of Isabella II., a Spaniard. 5. Justice and protection for national industry." A "Consultative Junta" was forming, chosen, without distinction of party, from the most respectable citizens.

The following letter from Barcelona, in the *National*, without date, furnishes interesting information of the insurrection:—"All the streets are barricaded. The troops have sustained great losses. Two colonels, a lieutenant-colonel, six or seven commandants, fifteen captains, and more than 100 inferior officers. The total amount of killed exceeds 500. The people have also lost great numbers. The bombardment from the port of Montjuich has not done any great damage. The French Consul has afforded protection to his fellow-countrymen, and has also been serviceable to many Spaniards. The Junta has taken measures to preserve order. It grants, without hesitation, permission to all persons who do not belong to the town to leave it. It is the 3rd battalion of National Guards that has suffered most from the fire of the troops. Zurbano, in his sheep-shin jacket as usual, determined to make himself conspicuous. He charged down the street of Fernando VII. at the head of the cavalry, but the charge was so badly executed, that he lost a great many men, and received a *brasera*, which nearly killed him. It is said that he has gone to Taragona, to bring in the soldiers from that place."

The troops evacuated the town, and Van Halen fixed his head-quarters at San Felipe, about two hours march from Barcelona, and maintained a full communication with Montjuich, and suspended hostilities with the city.

The ministry still held ground in spite of the majority that had declared against them in the Chamber of Deputies. Three projects of laws have been presented to the Cortes:—1. A loan of 600,000,000 reals, guaranteed by the entire revenue of the state. 2. Capitalisation into Three per Cent. stock of all the interest on the home active debt due or to become due to the 1st of May, 1843, included. 3. Liquidation, by means of *bons dits de larrière*, of all interest which is due or shall be due from the 1st of January, 1835, to the 31st of December, 1842. On the 20th, the Regent announced to the Cortes the events which had occurred at Barcelona, and that he would leave Madrid for that city on the following day. Madrid was tranquil.

PORTUGAL.

Lisbon news has been received to the 21st instant by the Tagus steamer. The government had gained a great victory on the preceding day, having carried the election of five deputies to supply the vacancies caused by deaths and double returns for the province of Estremadura; and it was fully anticipated that in the provinces they would carry everything. They had also carried the municipal elections at Coimbra, and generally throughout the country. Those of Lisbon and Oporto had not yet come on. Nothing new had transpired relative to the tariff question. Lord Aberdeen's answer had not yet been received, but there was no doubt that in the state they were transmitted home, the Portuguese offers would not be accepted.

UNITED STATES.

The packet ship, Captain Deland, arrived at Liverpool on Sunday evening, but brings no news of any material consequence. The yellow fever was very prevalent at Mobile, and daily increasing. Its ravages were principally confined to strangers, and the residents who had left the city in consequence were advised not to return until the frost had set in. The elections in Ohio, as far as they could be ascertained, had gone in favour of the democratic party by a considerable majority. The election for the state and city of New York would take place on the 8th, and upon its result would depend in a great measure the future complexion of Congress. Mr Dickens's book had arrived out, and given great offence to our transatlantic neighbours. The statements contained in it leave no doubt, they say, that the offensive article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* on the American press, was the production of the same pen. Business, as usual, continued dull. The next meeting of Congress, which would take place the first week in December, was looked to with much anxiety.

TURKEY.

Correspondence from Vienna, of the 15th instant, announces the receipt in that city of letters from Belgrade of the 7th instant, which announce that the Sultan, in acknowledging the new sovereign of Servia, had imposed upon him the following severe terms:—1. The new prince to be styled merely Basha Beg. 2. The Turkish Pacha of Belgrade shall, in future, preside at the meeting of the Servian Senate. 3. The tribute payable by the province of Servia shall be increased by the sum of 500,000 piastres. 4. The six departments which were added to the principality of Servia by the treaty of Adrianople, shall again form part of the Turkish empire.

Letters from Constantinople, of the 7th instant, mention a report of Kosref Pacha being elevated to the rank of Devlet Nazary (inspector, or constable, of the empire), and of his being placed at the head of the foreign department. This event, should it take place, is regarded as the work of Russia, and as the forerunner of a further increase of Russian influence at the Porte.

GREECE.

The accounts from Athens of the 7th instant state, that the new customs law had driven away the Ipsariots, who had returned to Turkey rather than continue under King Otho's rule. The Greek press still cried out loudly for a constitution, and complained that the situation of the people and country had not improved since they had shaken off the Ottoman yoke.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

At a court of common council held on Thursday, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the late Lord Mayor. A petition was presented from Mr Daniel Whittle Harvey, complaining that he had erroneously been excluded from the poll at the late election of high bailiff for Southwark. Seventy-two persons had signed a declaration, that they had held up their hands for Mr Harvey. The numbers on the show of hands were calculated by the Lord Mayor to be, 55 for Harvey, 56 for Pritchard, and 59 for Payne. Mr Harvey was, on that calculation, excluded from the poll; at which the numbers were, for Pritchard 87; for Payne 79. Mr Harvey therefore prayed, "that the said election may be declared null and void; or that no further proceedings be taken in respect to the election of the bailiff of the borough of Southwark until the next annual election of officers." It was stated in the court, that of the 72 who signed the declaration, 46 voted for Pritchard. The Recorder said, that the first prayer of the petition could not be put as a motion: the second was put by Mr Wise, and negatived. The motion for affixing the seal of the corporation to Mr Pritchard's appointment was carried by a large majority; and he was received as high bailiff of the borough of Southwark.

The commissioners under the Property and Income Tax act, for the City of London, commenced their sittings in Basinghall street on Monday, to hear appeals against assessments. The place was besieged by appellants. On that day, upwards of two hundred appeals were heard, and the reductions were allowed in nearly two-thirds of the cases. On Tuesday, 392 numbers were issued for the district comprising Bread street, Candlewick, Cheap, Coleman street, Cornhill, and Dowgate wards, the result of which appeared to be far less satisfactory than the preceding day. It is said that the hearing of appeals is likely to occupy the commissioners until Christmas.

On Tuesday last, Mr Mainzer, who has returned from an extensive tour in the provinces, and in Ireland and Scotland, attended a meeting of the great singing class in the theatre of the London Mechanics' institution, Southampton buildings. The theatre was crowded by the pupils to the number of nearly a thousand, and several eminent musicians, and gentlemen who take an interest in the cause of popular instruction, were present. Mr Mainzer, in an address of considerable length, gave a sketch of the success he had met with in the sister countries, and the permanent benefits that were likely to flow from his visits. At its close, he stated, that it was his intention to form a choral society of the more advanced pupils in the metropolis, that they might attempt the higher department of music. Several beautiful choruses were then sung by the whole body of the pupils with great precision, and the assiduous attention paid by Mr Mainzer, in order to insure complete harmony, was a sufficient refutation to our minds of the plea put forward by the oponents of popular instruction in singing—that it is merely the imitation of certain sounds, rather than an acquaintance with the science of vocal music. On Monday evening, we had the pleasure of hearing the performance of a large number of Mr Hullah's pupils, at Exeter hall, and were no less delighted with their advancement, and the fine effects of so large a number of voices united in harmony, than in the former instance. To institute a comparison of the two systems, would be of no practical benefit. There is room for the exertions of both Mr Hullah and Mr Mainzer, and may both perform their part, in ameliorating the condition of the people, by spreading a knowledge of vocal harmony from Cape Clear to the Orkney islands.

Frauds in the Coffee Trade.—On Friday a meeting of persons interested in the coffee trade was held at the Commercial Sales rooms, Mincing lane, to receive the report of the committee named at the last assembly, to confer with the directors of the several dock companies on the question of the serious deficiencies in weight; and although it appears interviews have taken place, these public bodies remain unconvinced of the decrease arising from other than natural causes. They, however, expressed their readiness to co-operate with the trade in the adoption of measures which may seem advisable for the protection of mutual interest, but declined further to stir in a grievance over which, from the manner they have treated it, they appeared to think they had no immediate control. The committee suggested that in order to diminish the loss experienced by the trade from these deficiencies, an application should be made to the treasury to revise the system of the payment of duty.

Mortality at Milbank Penitentiary.—On Thursday an inquest was held on the body of Mary Ann Crawley, aged 22, lately a prisoner in Milbank penitentiary. The deceased, it appears, had been confined in the penitentiary since October, 1841. In August last she was attacked with dysentery, and on the third of this month, had an attack of the same disease so severe that she died on Wednesday last. During the inquest, the fact came out that the mortality in the prison had been very great, and had all resulted from the dysentery. It was stated that sometimes the whole of the fields around the penitentiary were one sheet of water from the lowness of the situation, and consequent overflowing of the river. The coroner stated that the number of deaths this year had been very great—18 having occurred out of the 700 prisoners confined there. The jury returned a verdict of "Natural death."

The gas meters at present in use are found to be so far defective that they generally indicate the consumption of 1,000 feet of gas, when only 900 have been consumed, or sometimes when 700, or even only 600 feet, have been consumed.—*London Paper.*

Forgeries on the Richmond Savings' Bank.—A discovery has been made of most extensive embezzlements, and of several acts of forgery having been committed in the management of the funds deposited in the Richond Savings' bank. It appears that the delinquent is a Captain Belstead, the secretary of the institution, a gentleman highly connected, who, besides holding other appointments, is a captain in the Surrey militia, and who has hitherto maintained the highest character for probity and gentlemanly conduct. A warrant was issued for Captain Belstead's apprehension, and during Friday and Saturday last the local magistrates were each day engaged in investigating the charges against the accused. Two cases of embezzlement and one of forgery were gone into, upon each of which Captain Belstead was fully committed for trial at the next Surrey sessions.

Destructive Fire.—On Friday night, a few minutes before nine o'clock, an alarming and destructive fire broke out in the extensive range of workshops belonging to Messrs Jackson and Graham, the extensive upholsterers and cabinet makers, residing at 39, Oxford street. The flames, from the immense stock of combustible goods on the premises, burnt with uncontrolable fury for upwards of an hour and a half; but by the exertions of the firemen they were subdued. Nearly the whole of the range of workshops, with the valuable stock, and workmen's tools, are reduced to ruins. The elegant mansion and show-show are fortunately preserved. The damage done is estimated at from £2,000 to £3,000.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, November 30.

Intelligence from Barcelona has been received down to the 26th instant. The bombardment of the city, which was to commence at mid-day, was, on the 24th suspended. The junta was in parley with Van Halen, who demanded the captive regiments. The French and other foreigners were on board of the French vessels. The consuls of all the powers had protested. Those of France and England were still on shore; the others had embarked on board the Meleager. A further dispatch says, "That the national guard had consented that the captive troops should rejoin Van Halen without arms, according to their capitulation. Campredor has recognised the Junta. The republican chief, Abon Terradas, has failed in the Lampurdan. Olot, and the environs, have recognised the Junta. The insurrectionary movement, which took place at Valencia on the 20th instant, was appeased on the 21st.

The Regent took with him two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, a battery of artillery, and four companies of sappers, who are to be replaced in Madrid by several regiments ordered thither from the provinces. The national militia now constitutes the sole garrison of the capital. The Cortes have promised their support to the Regent, but on condition that the measures adopted by the government should be constitutional and legal. On the 22nd the Cortes were prorogued. On the probability of the insurrection being suppressed, the *Times* correspondent says, "Notwithstanding the degree of gravity which the French government journals endeavour to impart to the movements in Catalonia, I am still assured, on the best possible authority, that the revolt will be crushed. The causes in which it originated will, however, and may possibly, at no remote day, produce another of those calamitous events which have brought so much evil upon Spain—a war of succession."

CORN MARKET. Mark Lane, This Day.

The market is very flat, but what little business is doing is at Monday's prices. The supply of English wheat is 2150 quarters; of foreign, 1360 quarters.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received a letter from "Charles Westerton" respecting the paragraph headed, "The Chartists and the Birmingham Conference," which we inserted in our last number, on the authority of a private correspondent. We have likewise received another letter from that correspondent, making some minor corrections of his former statement, which, however, do not substantially affect the truth of it. Mr Westerton's letter came too late for insertion this week, and consequently, if he requests it, shall be inserted next week; but we think that the public would be much better pleased with an explanation of two somewhat startling facts—viz., that at a second meeting of reformers, representing the different suffrage associations of the metropolis, a resolution passed at the former meeting with hardly a dissentient, "That the funds for paying the delegates should be raised and managed by the different localities," was rescinded by a large majority; and that the proposition, "That the election of the delegates should take place simultaneously," was negatived; thus throwing open the door to the employment of unfair influences, and keeping hold upon the purse for the payment of the nominees of the Charter association. We advise the electors in each of the metropolitan boroughs to call separate meetings of their own body, to send their own representatives, and to superintend the disbursement of their own money.

"J. H. Tillett." We have not received the paper referred to.

We are obliged to pass over several interesting letters on the ordination of dissenting ministers, for want of room.

"No Compromise," "Civis," "A Subscriber," declined for the same reason.

Our Wareham correspondent must be kind enough to wait.

ERRATA.—In the last letter "On the Proper Sphere of Government" paragraph 2, line 20, for "constitutionally," read "consistently;" paragraph 4, line 27, for "general," read "grand;" paragraph 4, line 30, for "motions," read "motives;" paragraph 6, line 3, for "misfaulture," read "misfortune;" paragraph 6, line 14, for "now," read "more." In the paragraph headed, "The Chartists and the Birmingham Conference," page 781, line 46, for "National Complete Suffrage," read "National Charter Association."

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1842.

SUMMARY.

THE dispatches received by government by the intermediate overland mail, and published to the world since our last, outdo, in the satisfactory character of their contents, the favourable report which had preceded them. Akhbar Khan has released all his prisoners, and Lord Ellenborough has issued a proclamation notifying the intention of the Indian government to evacuate Affghanistan forthwith. We have reserved for another column all comment upon these happy events.

The insurrection at Barcelona, said to be a republican one, but which seems, from the conflicting accounts, to have been vital with no definite political principle, formidable as it appeared at first sight, has been productive of no other result than a lamentable effusion of blood. Some traces, indeed, appear, which warrant a suspicion, if nothing more, that Louis Philippe, determined as he is known to be to give Isabella a husband of the Bourbon family, has had some share in bringing about the disastrous event. The insurrection, however, has not spread. The Cortes and the Senate have declared in favour of the Regency, and Espartero has set out in person to crush the incipient rebellion. No doubt is entertained by the best-informed parties, interested in Spanish politics, that the insurrection may now be considered as virtually at an end.

The election of delegates for the ensuing conference at Birmingham is proceeding in all parts of the country; and, notwithstanding indications here and there of the success of the *Northern Star* policy, we have no reason to augur unfavourably of the general issue. Mr Feargus O'Connor's party will be fairly represented, but will not, we confidently predict, obtain a preponderance of votes. It becomes, however, the duty of the friends of the National Complete Suffrage Union, who are pledged to a peaceful movement in opposition to every species of violence, to be on the alert, and in places like Sheffield, Glasgow, and other large towns, in which evidence exists that factious means are contemplated, to call separate meetings of the electors, and leave the non-electors to call theirs. Wherever this course can be avoided we trust it will not be resorted to, and we could earnestly wish to see the noble conduct of Nottingham imitated in all our large towns. In reference to the metropolitan districts, the council have wisely adopted a specific resolution. Our readers will mark with especial interest the triumphant progress of Mr Vincent through our eastern agricultural counties.

Save some pleasing indications of the revival of trade, resulting mainly from the establishment of peace in the East, we have no other topic of general interest to advert to in this week's summary.

ON! STANLEY, ON!

WHEN the allied armies encountered Napoleon for the last time, at Waterloo, the victory they achieved may be regarded as the result of union—union effected at the precise and critical moment when it was most needed, and when it told most powerfully upon the foe. Exposed to a ruinous fire, the British forces firmly held their ground, and yet the anxious features of Wellington, his restless pacing to and fro, the frequency with which he drew out his watch and noted the flight of time, plainly indicated that, unless succour should soon arrive, his troops would hold out but a short time longer. At this juncture, Prince Blucher was descried, moving rapidly forward at the head of his squadrons. The order was given to charge—a wild huzzah rent the murky air—and the now united soldiery rushed down upon the startled enemy, claimed and obtained possession of the hard-fought field.

This memorable achievement, of which a great man, now no more, remarked that, "it put back the clock of the world more than half a century," may yet serve to illustrate the position of the friends of popular freedom, and to teach them a most valuable lesson. It is frankly conceded that, in spite of all their mistakes, the working men of this country have nobly refused to quit the ground of sound political principle. Laid bare as they have been to the cannonading of overwhelming opposition, they have firmly stood their post, resolving to accept no relief but at the hands of triumph. But it must now be apparent, even to themselves, that not the most heroic courage, not the most immovable constancy, will avail to give them victory without timely aid. They have waited long and watched anxiously for the advance of the middle classes. And, now, their patience and firmness are about to reap their appropriate reward. Already may be seen, in the distance, the nodding plumes and clouds of dust which betoken the approach of allies. The Blucher of peaceful political reform is leading on his followers to the conflict, and now heart must join heart, hand must grasp hand, and voice must unite with voice. Up to the heavens let the shout of anticipation arise, and then—bear down upon the common foe.

So obvious is the interest of the working men at this moment, so imperative is their duty, so palpably necessary to success is cordial union, that we cannot believe, until the event has forced conviction upon our minds, that any considerable number of them will listen to the counsels of faction, or consent to repel the assistance now proffered to them by middle-class allies. Deeply attached, as a body, to the great principles for which they have fought and suffered, we trust they will not allow themselves to be cozened out of the solid fruits of so much toil by specious misrepresentations, decked out in whatever guise. They will assert for themselves the unfettered exercise of their own common sense; and as they have stood manfully by their principles, they will stand undoubtedly for their own liberty of opinion, speech, and judgment. They who have wrestled so successfully with external difficulty, will not suffer themselves to be betrayed by their own prejudices. Here and there, ere they have leisurely surveyed their position, folly may prick them into indiscreet measures; but let the real state of parties be honestly put before them, and we have full confidence in them, that they will act a becoming part.

A conference of all classes has been summoned. The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, who took upon themselves the responsibility of convoking it, have evinced also their sincerity and integrity of purpose. The first plan they laid down for the choice of delegates, bearing in view the object they proposed to accomplish, might have sufficed, in our judgment, to satisfy every reasonable man, of both classes, that they had no disposition to sacrifice the principles they professed to have adopted. There could have been no desire to take advantage of the working men, when in a convocation called with a view to complete the work of reconciliation, by agreeing upon such details as might fairly embody the principles already agreed upon by both parties, the unenfranchised were to be put upon a footing of perfect equality with the electors. We think the Council might with all consistency have stood by their original arrangement—and thus, whilst treating all classes with evident fairness, in justice to all, might have kept the door closed against faction. But their snbsequent project may be cited, at all events, as satisfactory evidence of transparent honesty of heart. When they threw wide open the door of the ensuing conference, they evinced, along with implicit confidence in the people, the entire absence of sinister designs. The working men, consequently, have no ground upon which a reasonable fear can find a foot-hold, that they are invited to a parley with men, anxious to trap them into a surrender of their object. The Council have, at the very outset, given a more than sufficient pledge, that they have no intention of palming off a delusion upon the classes whose political enfranchisement is the sole object of "The Union."

This frank, and we had well nigh said lavish, confidence on the part of the Council, will, we have reason to know, be followed up at the approaching conference at Birmingham. Its two-fold object will be kept steadily in view. On the one hand, the unrepresented section of the community will have no reason to complain of any attempt to fritter away the principles to which they have attached themselves—on the other, they need not expect, for assuredly they will not find, any other attitude taken up in reference to the middle classes, than one of kindness, conciliation, forbearance, and respect. To the deliberation of the whole assembled body of delegates will be submitted a bill, already far advanced to mature preparation, bearing upon its every provision the stamp of sincerity. In the discussion of its several clauses, the utmost freedom will be given—and such amendments upon it as the good sense of the conference may ultimately resolve upon will be adopted with cordiality and cheerfulness. The true friends of the people, therefore, are guaranteed against all artifice. But should deliberation be precluded—should it happen that a majority of men, pledged to all the details of another document, and chained hand and foot by previous declarations, refuse to entertain, for a moment, even evident improvements upon a former plan; and, reckless about the *bonâ fide* establishment of great principles, display only an eagerness to assert a supremacy over the middle classes, by thrusting into their faces what they have come to look upon, foolishly perhaps, with repugnance—then, seeing that no good end can be gained by wanton provocation of

EWARD LEE NONCONFORMIST

prejudice, and having clear proof that the battle is no longer for principle, but for party, we trust the Council of the Union will be found to have the spirit and the good feeling to withdraw, and leave faction undivided to consummate its own schemes. They commenced their noble career as mediators, and we are confident they will not conclude it as partisans.

The wisest policy, then, of both classes is obvious. The choice of honest, intelligent, reputable, trust-worthy delegates, becomes the duty of all. Let not the friends of complete suffrage quit the field upon the first appearance of untoward symptoms. They have an obligation to discharge—let them discharge it with unshrinking fidelity and zeal. For our own part, we have no serious misgivings as to the result. But should the worst happen, which fear can conjure up and fancy paint, they leave open to themselves a path for dignified retreat. The triumph of faction, however decisive, will be short. They may retire upon their own principles and organisation, and calmly await the moment when the mists of delusion shall have cleared up, the designs of selfish ambition shall be exposed to every eye, and the brief madness of party shall have spent its whole force. They may appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, in confident anticipation that false judgment will be reversed —and the reconciliation which has been prevented for a time, will be effected under happier auspices than ever. Time, it is true, will have been lost—precious time; but possibly that loss may be more than compensated by subsequent cordiality.

Had we, at this crisis, the ear of the working men, we would ask them, with all seriousness, what one good end they can hope to gain by defeating the object of the forthcoming conference. They will gain nothing in influence, nothing in reputation, nothing in independence, nothing in power. They will neither thereby raise themselves nor their principles. Their best friends will grieve over their wayward determination. Thousands who are beginning to inquire about their objects will instantly turn away in disgust. Their direst foes will pat them on the back and commend their spirit. This must not be. The way to honourable triumph lies not in this direction. We cannot believe it will be trodden by any but stragglers. No! The industrious classes will, we cannot permit ourselves to doubt, open their ranks to welcome their advancing allies. The moment is a critical one. Let them toss to the winds all unworthy suspicions—let them evince their desire for a junction of forces, by sending to conference men of tried integrity, of watchful intelligence, of known independence of character. Then may a plan of attack be determined on, which will give ample scope for the activities of all—and the first brief moments of mutual congratulation may be succeeded by the soul-stirring charge—"On! Stanley, on!"

REPRESENTATION ON A NEW BASIS.

In accordance with the promise made in our last number, we proceed to lay before our readers an abstract of a new plan of parliamentary representation, proposed by the author of a pamphlet entitled, "Our Representative System, its Tendency and Effects, with Practical Suggestions for its Formation on a New Basis."

After a few introductory observations on the necessity of political reform, and the policy of making the basis of any proposed measure sufficiently broad and comprehensive to enlist all classes in its favour, the author takes a view of our present representative system, its distinctive features, and inherent defects. The grand objection to it, and which his proposed plan is more especially calculated to obviate, is best given in his own words. "A representative body, which, like the English House of Commons, has *for the basis of its formation, a connexion between each of its members and some one particular portion of the community*, must always, and under any circumstances, represent to a considerable extent interests distinct from those of the public weal, and sometimes adverse to it—and such a connexion has, *by its very terms, a tendency to degenerate into a compact for private, and local, and selfish purposes.*" This inherent defect, it is maintained, would continue to exist, though in a less aggravated form, were any or all the points which constitute complete suffrage adopted by the country.

The first step of the proposed plan of representation is the formation of a list of candidates, eligible and willing to serve. This list is to contain the name of every man who, without any other qualification whatever, can obtain in his favour the signatures of not less than [five hundred] householders, in any part of the United Kingdom. The signatures must be attested by some recognised and defined existing authority—as the sheriff of a county, the mayor of a borough, or a justice of the peace, &c., any of whom shall be bound under penalty to signify his belief or disbelief of the authenticity of any requisition in favour of a candidate, which is in compliance with terms prescribed by law, and shall be presented to him for the purpose. It may here be observed that the specific number or designation, which in this and other instances is inclosed between brackets, is merely suggested by the author. The document, being authenticated, is to be forwarded to the proposed candidate, who, by presenting it to [the Home office], shall be entitled to be registered as a candidate, and proclaimed as such in the *Gazette*. An alphahetical list of the candidates is then to be prepared by government, printed, and sent to every post-office throughout the kingdom, where, at a trifling charge, it may be procured by every elector. Each voter having supplied himself with a copy, shall signify his preference by a mark in ink against any [fifty] of the names contained in the list, or as many less as he pleases, but no more. The list may be prepared at pleasure, and if the voter change his mind, he may purchase a second or a third list, and substitute it for the one previously prepared.

It is then proposed that for a polling place a convenient building, or some securely enclosed space, with a separate entrance and exit-gate, capable of accommodating [five huudred] electors, should be prepared in every [parish] containing [from two to three thousand] inhabitants. In more populous [parishes] two or more of such polling places are to be provided, as circumstances may require. The elections are to take place simultaneously at every polling place throughout the kingdom, and every elector intending to give his vote is required to be present within the polling booth before an appointed hour, when the entrance-gate to every polling place shall be closed and secured, and all further access denied. At the gate of exit the appointed officer shall receive from each elector, as he leaves the enclosure, his marked list of candidates. The list shall be deposited, sealed, in a polling box provided for the purpose, and having a slit for the admission of the papers, like a common post-office box.

The box containing the lists is then to be forwarded to [the Home office, or parties appointed especially for the purpose], for examination, and the total number of votes in favour of each candidate are to be calculated from the preference marks in each list. Every list in which the prescribed regulations have not been observed is of course null and void. The result shall then be published in the government *Gazette*, and the election declared to fall upon those [five hundred] out of the whole list of candidates in whose favour appears the greatest number of votes.

Such is the general plan. The author then proceeds to discuss its presumed practical operation as regards electors. Its direct effect, it is urged, would be to release the representative from a connexion which renders *him* dependent upon a few, or which proves that *they* are dependent upon him. The abolition of all test but that of sex and age, is proposed as the simplest, safest, and fairest plan that could be adopted, provision being made in case of suspected nonage, for rejection of the vote or proof of majority. The elector would thus escape from any influence to which he does not *voluntarily* submit, and would find free scope for the exercise of his choice. There would be no inducement to abuse the exercise of the franchise, while it would give to each class representation proportionate to their station, their energy, or their numbers.

It is then argued that, from the slow growth of public opinion, the duration of a parliament thus elected ought to be at least three years; and proposed that the demise of the crown, or a change of ministry, should not render a fresh election necessary. In cases of death or retirement the vacancies need not be filled up. Thus the general election would be final for three years, and all the exceptionable practices and abuses which are incident to our present representative system would be effectually abolished. A liberal remuneration is to be provided, at the public charge, for members of parliament, so that the mere circumstances of life may not prevent an individual of talent and integrity from devoting himself to the public service.

Though this is a mere abstract of the plan proposed, we trust it will convey a correct idea of its general bearing. The author does not indulge in unfounded expectations, but thus commits it to the calm consideration of the public:—"To such a scheme as this, exceptions more numerous and more important than any which have already occurred to myself doubtless exist. I can only hope that they may be urged by others: till then I reserve a labour which may never be called for at my hands. I am prepared for neglect, but I hope for criticism, for inquiry, for examination of the principle which I have endeavoured to explain and carry out."

THE WARS OF INDIA AND CHINA.

The "glorious successes" in India and China, as party patriots unite in calling them, seem suddenly to have assuaged the wrath even of those who, up to the last Indian mail, had denounced our Eastern wars as violations alike of humanity and justice. That whig and tory, who have more or less abetted these wars, should rejoice, is befitting; but that the voice of remonstrance should be drowned in the clamours of victory, is, we fear, an infallible evidence that the grounds upon which remonstrance has been made by some of our contemporaries have been rather the result of caprice, than of reflection and judgment. It is true that we have destroyed Ghuznee, re-invested Cabul, and forced upon the Chinese a treaty of amity and peace; this we have done by the might which discipline almost invariably puts forth against irregular valour. But the crime of our invasion of Affghanistan and China, is neither propitiated nor blotted out from history. There it remains as glaring and ensanguined as when it was first held up to the reprobation of all wise and good men; and no eventual consequences of profit or military triumph can change its character, or lessen our abhorrence of it.

Our readers will do us the justice to remember that we have protested against these wars *ab initio*. We felt that in Affghanistan we were interfering, without the shadow of right, in the affairs of a free and independent people; that we had been urged to this interference by the fussy diplomatists who, stationed at all points of the Indian continent, have apparently no other object but to create opportunities for our aggression; and, although we could not but lament the terrible fate of some of our countrymen, we were yet compelled to regard it as a legitimate retribution for the wrong of which they are the agents. Under the flimsiest pretences of fear of Russia, and the usurpation of Dost Mohammed (with which we had no more to do than with the usurpation of Louis Philippe), we thrust upon the Affghans a ruler, whom they had years before exiled for his crimes and atrocities; and when reproached by us for the insurrection and massacre which the galling rule of our cruel despotic *protegé* had again provoked, we felt that they had too much reason to retort in the bitter language of Shylock,

"The villainy you execute we will imitate, and it shall go hard but we will better the example."

The defeats we sustained in the beginning of 1842, the entire destruction of a portion of our Indian army, the imprisonment of another portion, the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes by the populace of Cabul, the treacherous assassination of Sir W. Macnaghton, and capture of Lady Sale and her companions by Akhbar Khan, opened our eyes (such is sometimes the effect of reverse and misfortune) to the iniquity of our plans; but unhappily neither checked our hands, nor stayed our pride. Two main reasons were urged for continuing the war—first, the necessity of retrieving our character, and striking terror into the foe—secondly, the imperative duty of releasing Lady Sale and the other prisoners. How our character could be retrieved by persisting in injustice we are at a loss to conceive; and the necessity of striking terror into the foe is a plea which might be admitted before a savage or a heathen tribunal, but is far too brutal to be entertained for a moment by a civilised and Christian people. If our Indian government is only to be maintained by terror, the sooner it is abandoned the better; but we are persuaded that it cannot be so; that humanity and justice are more potent in their influences than the sword; and that if we were now to attempt to make a system of terror permanent in India, we should be unable to retain possession of it for twelve months, except at a sacrifice which the home government dare not propose, and the nation would be little inclined to endure. We at once recognise the duty of releasing the prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Akhbar, but their release was not alone contingent upon our marching back to Cabul. They might have been set free six months ago, by negotiation or ransom, and no price that we could have paid for this purpose would have at all approached the expenditure of blood and treasure incurred by the recent success of Generals Nott and Pollock. Reason and policy did not, however, prevail in our Indian councils; we carried fire and sword again into the Affghan territories; destroyed their villages and, to the disgrace of the English name, slaughtered, in cold blood, their women and children; dislodged the Affghans from their mountain fastnesses, and planted the British colours upon the heights of Cabul. Tried by the conventional rules of statesmen, there may here be the elements of national glory; but submitted to the simple test of Christian morality, we discern only a dark mass of human passion and crime.

While we are writing, the proclamation of Lord Ellenborough appears in an extraordinary gazette. After commenting with severity upon the conduct of his predecessor, he orders the evacuation of Affghanistan, and leaves the inhabitants "to the anarchy their crimes have merited." We should have phrased it "to the anarchy *our* crimes have produced;" for it is we who have disorganised their government, dethroned one sovereign, enthroned another, and scattered confusion and dismay where we found established order and confidence. Such an honest avowal, however, was not to be expected from a governor-general, and we ought perhaps to be thankful—now that the unfortunate Affghans are no longer to be encumbered with our protection—that we have from high authority an unequivocal condemnation of the policy which has inflicted so much misery and wrong. Pensions, peerages, and promotions have been bestowed; rivers of blood have been poured forth; millions have been lavished; and at the end of three years, we retire behind the Punjaub and the Indus, admitting that we ought never to have passed those natural limits of our empire, and publishing to the world the utter worthlessness of all that we have suffered and sacrificed. Truly, here is a lesson, which if our leaders do not hold in remembrance, the people, we are convinced, will not easily forget.

If there were no virtual apology for the Affghan war, there was not even an ostensible one for that in China. In all our proceedings with the celestial empire, we have consulted nothing but the power we possessed to make good our contempt for the law of nature and nations. The Chinese were justified in their seizure of the opium as contraband, and confiscate to their laws; and as we have formerly said, the owners of the opium had no more claim upon our protection, much less upon our military intervention, than English smugglers caught, *in flagrante delicto*, on the coast of France. In the very document which Sir Henry Pottinger circulated amongst the Chinese (and which we regret we have not the space minutely to dissect), the inherent weakness of our cause is palpable, and the failure of our justification complete. He is obliged to allege the seizure of the opium as the foundation of the war; and besides that perfectly legal act, he can muster no offences on the part of the Chinese, but what were committed after the war begun—that is, after we had commenced an aggression upon their territory, which they were bound to offend us by resisting. We are inclined to augur well of the treaty which has put a stop to our further aggressions, opening, as it seems to do, new channels of commercial enterprise; but as in India, so in China, the successful issue cannot purge the original criminality; and the chief stipulation of the treaty, the payment of 21 millions of dollars, is an unwarrantable exaction, imposing a burden upon the Chinese, which we have no right to shift from ourselves.

One word more, before leaving these topics to make their own impression. Hints have been thrown out of a public thanksgiving to God for our successes; in reference to which, we subjoin the two following extracts, faint indications, as they must be, of the real glories we should thus celebrate.

The correspondent of a morning paper says of the taking of Chin-Kiang-foo:—

"A Chinese mandarin, writing to Nankin, says—'These barbarians are very fierce, and there is no standing against them; they open our strongest gates with a little powder, and walk over our highest walls with pieces of stick.' I never saw such loss of life and property as took place here: we lost officers and men enough, but it is impossible even to compute the loss of the Chinese; for when they found they could stand no longer against us, they cut the throats of their wives and children, or drove them into wells and ponds, and then destroyed themselves: in many houses there were from eight to twelve dead bodies, and I myself saw a dozen women and children drowning themselves in a small pond the day after the fight. The whole of the city and suburbs are a mass of ruins; whole streets have been burnt down, and the place has been completely gutted by Chinese plunderers."

And another eye-witness thus narrates his experience in the same city:—

"I walked through a part of the town next day with an escort. It was almost entirely deserted; at least, no further resistance was offered by its now terror-stricken inhabitants. I need not say that the most disgusting sights met the eye at every step. The dead and wounded of the enemy (although most of them had been carried away) were lying about in all directions; no attention whatever being paid to the latter. Already had the houses and shops been broken open, and the most valuable property (as teas, bales of silk, furs, &c.) was scattered about like rubbish. All the houses which were supposed to have any connexion with government or government officers were either burnt or being burnt. As at other places we have taken from the Chinese, suicides were committed to a fearful extent: men, women, and children were found strangled, or taken out of the wells by dozens. But why dwell on scenes so repulsive?—scenes at which humanity should blush, but which are the too frequent and unavoidable concomitants of war!"

We earnestly hope that none of our countrymen, after reading these facts, and reflecting upon the thousand other scenes of agony and distress, hidden and unrecorded, will insult the God of mercy and truth by thanksgiving for the murder, suicide, massacre, and rapine which, with a reckless disregard of human and divine law, man has dared to perpetrate.

ROYAL ETIQUETTE.

SPAIN and France have long been at variance upon a point of etiquette; and for some months a French ambassador has not resided at Madrid, nor a Spanish ambassador at Paris. In fact, the most serious consequences have been apprehended; an appeal to arms has not yet been made, but alienation between the two countries has daily become wider and wider.

The facts are simply these—their grave importance will at once be admitted by every man alive to the sentiments of true honour and nationality. Espartero, a soldier of fortune, has carved his way into the regency of Spain; and as regent, representing his country before Europe and the world, insists that the French ambassador should, on his appointment, deliver his credentials to him. At this demand, Louis Philippe was indignant. It was an insult, perhaps a premeditated insult, to the majesty of France. What! a mere regent, the creature of a day, elected by the suffrages of a whole people, to put himself upon an equality with the legitimate monarch of France, Louis Philippe, the citizen king, was indeed not to be tolerated. So Louis Philippe declared that his representative at the court of Madrid should not deliver his credentials to a lesser person than Queen Isabella. Here, then, was a pause. Neither would yield, until Great Britain, that benevolent power ever ready to meddle in the affairs of her neighbours, interposed, and induced Espartero to modify his stern resolve. This modification was submitted to France; it consisted of the following ingenious device. The French ambassador was to be received by Isabella, enthroned in state; he was to present his credentials to her, and she was immediately to pass them to Espartero, who was conveniently to be standing at her right hand for that purpose. One might have hoped that this would have proved satisfactory; but, alas! Louis Philippe was inexorable in his opinion, that passing his ambassador's credentials to Espartero would be more than the dignity of France could bear. And so the matter stands, to the amazement of all Europe.

Two plain reflections occur to us. The first is, that Louis Philippe thinks himself a legitimate monarch, in which opinion we apprehend he is singular. And the second is, that royalty has a peculiar insight, giving to immaterial circumstances an importance which, in inferior stations, would be regarded with ridicule and contempt. These two reflections we commend to the best attention of our readers.

THE STRIKE.

ITS HISTORY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES.

(*From a Manchester Correspondent.*)

[We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions contained in these papers.]

IV.

Continuation of the last—War—Riots—Union Societies—Hampden Clubs—Great Meeting—Blanketeers—Peterloo.

THOUGH the agitation for parliamentary reform appeared to be knocked on the head by the violent measures of the government—measures following the trial of Walker—the desire for such reform, with the full appreciation of its nature, and of the necessity for it, kept silently, but surely, gaining ground. A few popular outbreaks—some trade disputes—and a great many bigoted exhibitions of what was then called "loyalty," together with the martial spirit engendered by the perpetual "wars and rumours of wars," were almost the whole of the "events" of importance which took place in the cotton and woolen manufacturing districts, during the dozen years subsequent to the period already spoken of. Eyes fixed upon the policy of France, or upon the proceedings of the rest of Europe, hardly wasted a glance upon the true interests of the people at home. In 1804, Manchester, along with other manufacturing towns, raised its proportion of volunteers. Soldiering absorbed the attention of, and was the object of ambition with, those whose "raw head and bloody bones" loyalty had, some years before, exhibited itself in maledictions against "leveling," and in outrages against the persons and property of the reformers. Under this accumulated load of encumbrances, healthy political feeling seemed to be securely buried. But education advanced—the newspapers, which recorded victories and chronicled defeats, gave insights into the machinery at work in the "glorious constitution"—increased taxes came with the "glory of our arms"—the works of the

reformers were read—the persecution of their authors raised greater curiosity about the subjects on which they had written—the cruelties consequent upon the Irish rebellion drove multitudes of active-minded and intelligent agitators to seek employment and safety in the north of England—and thus new blood was infused into the manufacturing towns. In fine, the balance of causes was in favour of a popular action for reform, and the action commenced.

In 1808, a petition against the orders in council, in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, received in Manchester and Salford 50,000 signatures. Other towns petitioned likewise. The weavers, an influential body, organised themselves to obtain some measure for their immediate relief. Failing in their object, they met in various localities in great numbers. Having congregated in a large body in Manchester, the military were sent to disperse them; and Colonel Hanson, a Manchester merchant, for having addressed them, was indicted and imprisoned.

In 1812, a meeting to address the Prince Regent, in censure of the measures of government, and to pray for parliamentary reform, was called. The authorities interposed to prevent the meeting. The people assembled in great numbers—a sort of meeting was held in St Ann's square. Improper interference exasperated those present, and a riot took place. The example of Manchester was followed elsewhere; and government, to assuage the people's woes, poured soldiers into the disturbed districts, and, for the especial protection of Manchester, a camp was formed on Kersall moor. The time immediately following was marked by great activity amongst the operative classes—an activity met by an application of the spy system, which still further provoked inquiry into the acts of the governors.

In 1815 and 1816, the Union societies developed themselves throughout the manufacturing districts, and presented a formidable and compact organisation. The working classes, and a mere handful of middle-class men, constituted the unionists. Peace had not brought plenty. The middle classes, soothed by the repeal of the property and income taxes, were enraged by the corn law, which passed in spite of their protests. But though the master manufacturers saw a measure at work, fatal, or at the least most injurious, to their interests; and though they knew that, so long as the then dominant party carried the quiver, they would always be in danger from the poisoned arrows, still they refused boldly to throw themselves into the arms of the people, and thus secure an auxiliary power to enable them to cope successfully with the aristocracy. Thus at the great meeting held on St Peter's field, in October, 1816, universal suffrage and annual parliaments were supported solely by working men, and a very few of those who, by shopkeeping or some sort of small dealing, laid claim to rank amongst the middle class. The "Hampden clubs," as many of the political societies were called, continued to increase all over the North; and political associations, stimulated in their growth by the powerful and useful writings of Cobbett—writings which penetrated into the cottages of the poorest workmen—soon stifled the riots, and stopped the breaches of the law, so plentifully excited amongst the more ignorant by the passing of the Corn bill, and its inevitable results upon the price of food and the wages of labour.

No Walkers or Coopers came out to lead the people, now clamouring everywhere in Lancashire for reform. Leaders were found from amongst the Sunday-school teachers, and the local preachers of dissenting congregations. Men, too, who had gained a little education, and who had been convinced by reading the works of Paine and Cobbett of the abuses of class legislation, came forth and instructed the more illiterate. Men's minds were excited upon political questions, and natural talent soon took up its due position amongst those seeking after knowledge. The political leaders of this period, found in the north of England, like those who followed them, were plain, honest, simple-hearted men. Not over-wise, or well-educated, perhaps, but firm in their purpose, and honest in their intentions. Middleton, a little town in the neighbourhood of Manchester, was a stronghold of these plain friends of reform. Bamford was their leader. Many delegate meetings were here held; and from hence issued the decree which sent out Benbow, and one or two others, to convert the people, who had shown little affection for reform in the great towns of Yorkshire.

Foiled in their application to parliament, the people were open to hear schemes which promised success by a shorter road. Benbow and others suggested the "blanketeering" expedition. This scheme was opposed by Bamford and others. However, a meeting of 5000 or 6000 working men took place on the 10th March, 1817, on St Peter's field. Many of the men had blankets and wallets strapped upon their shoulders, and were otherwise equipped for marching up to London to see the Prince Regent—the Riot act was read—the meeting was dispersed and some of the leaders were apprehended. Nevertheless, a large number of persons set off on their march. At Stockport, the yeomanry took possession of the bridge, and turned the people back. Some of them returned home. Others waded the river and pursued their journey. One man was shot, and some were cut with sabres. About 180 of the blanketeers reached Macclesfield. About 30 got as far as Leek, and no one went much further. Soon after this, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; arrests took place, and the ministry of the day hoped they had destroyed the influence of the "radicals." It was at this period that Oliver, the spy, played so prominent a part.

After the restoration of the Habeas Corpus act in 1818, the agitation for reform recommenced. Meetings were held in nearly all the towns of Lancashire—and the border towns of Cheshire—and in many parts of Yorkshire. In this year, too, there was a general turn-out of spinners, weavers, and others, in and about Manchester. This aided in widening the distance between the employers and the employed, and contributed something towards a growing feeling of enmity amongst them.

The beginning of 1819 was marked by meetings to petition for the immediate abolition of the Corn bill; and these meetings were succeeded by a series of demonstrations in favour of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot—ever memorable in the local history of the districts in which they took place. In June, it was resolved to make preparations for holding a meeting of all the radical reformers within fifteen or twenty miles of Manchester, on the old place of meeting, St Peter's field. Preparations were accordingly made for having at once an immense and an orderly meeting. The men from the country were drilled to march in line—directions were issued by the central committee at Manchester, that every attention on the day of meeting should be paid to cleanliness, order, and sobriety. No weapons of any kind were to be brought to the meeting—even walking sticks were interdicted.

On the 16th August, 1819, the gathering took place. It was one of the largest ever held—certainly, the most imposing ever held previously in the manufacturing districts. Vast bodies of men marched into the town in the most orderly manner. No offensive weapons were to be seen. The country people were clean and, as far as their means would allow, well dressed. There was not a drunken man or woman in any of the numerous processions. Rochdale, Oldham, Stockport, Blackburn, Blakeley, Middleton, and many other towns, poured half their population into Manchester. The place of meeting was crammed. At least 80,000 people were present at the commencement of the meeting, and masses kept flocking to the scene. Hunt was called to the chair. He had not spoken five minutes, when the yeomanry were let loose upon the people, and that dreadful tragedy, still known as the "Manchester massacre," was enacted. Several people were killed, and upwards of a thousand were more or less injured. Let it be recorded, to the eternal shame of the "Manchester yeomanry," that amongst those wounded with sabres were several women!

The upshot of the matter was that the whole district was in a ferment for a long while; and Hunt, Johnson, Moorhouse, Bamford, and others, were apprehended, indicted, tried, and imprisoned.

It is impossible to recal the particulars of this event, without seeing throughout the tokens of a great improvement in the manners, habits, and knowledge of the people. Education had made rapid strides, and political knowledge, marching in the road thus prepared for it, produced its natural effect upon the popular wish, and upon the means by which to attain the desired objects.

Though the "Church and King" mobs may be said to have been succeeded by others, directing their violence, it is true, against real wrongs, instead of using it to punish conscientious opinion, at the beck and instigation of bigots and political partisans; still we find that the physical force of the multitude emancipated itself from the influence of those who before had used it; and, though still exhibiting itself occasionally, was wielded in its own behalf. We find, too, that a legal agitation for the reform sought in 1792, soon rooted out the old mode of enforcing redress. We find the opinions once held by a few amid the persecutions of the mass spreading rapidly throughout the popular ranks, and carrying along with them improved manners and morals—because they dethroned popular violence, and taught that moral ends can only be effectually obtained by moral means. Let the drunkenness and mad fury, shown by the men who during the French revolution mobbed the "Jacobins," and shouted round the burning effigy of Paine, be contrasted with the sobriety, cleanliness, order, moderation, and true liberality of the men who met on the 16th of August, and then it will be seen how astonishing was the progress of opinion, based upon increased intelligence and virtue, amongst the working men of the north.

Alas! that a portion of the middle class, as intelligent and good as that which composed the Constitutional society, did not come forth and, siding with the regenerate people, become the acclaimed leaders of the working men so nobly striving for their country's good!

The royal pair paid Ramsgate a visit on Thursday; proceeding thither in a close carriage and four, with servants in plain liveries. The Queen drove to the Pier house at about one o'clock, and was received by Sir William Curtis, deputy chairman of the Ramsgate harbour trustees, and the principal authorities of the town were in attendance on the Queen during her visit. Her Majesty walked on the eastern pier, and, while she was there, four vessels entered the harbour; one of them nearly struck the stone-work, and the Queen displayed much emotion until the vessel was safe. Her Majesty afterwards witnessed the launch of a Genoese vessel, the Felice. A cold collation was prepared in the Pier house; where the Queen gave audience to the officers of the Belgian brig of war, Compte de Flanders: and with the Prince returned to Walmer at four o'clock.

The day at present named for her Majesty's departure for Windsor is Saturday next. Her Majesty, it is stated, has altogether abandoned her intention of visiting Brighton this season.

We understand that her Majesty, the Queen, will shortly lay the foundation-stone of the Victoria tower of the new houses of parliament. It was expected that her Majesty would have laid the stone previous to the removal of the court to Walmer castle.

A meeting of the cabinet ministers was held at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, at the official residence of Sir R. Peel, in Downing street. The meeting broke up shortly before 5 o'clock.

The London correspondent of the *Scotsman* says, "The general impression among sagacious men of all parties is, that the Premier will attempt "nothing"—that he will wait the charge of his opponents—that he will march no farther in liberalism—and that he will rather hypocritically affect to favour the *Ultra* tories, and the fanatics in religion. I have already told you that this is my decided impression, and that I ridicule the idea of any farther real concession to the free traders, and abolitionists of the bread tax. Sir R. Peel dare not, and cannot, make additional concessions to the reformers. If he adventures further in his liberal path, he breaks up his government."

When China had to pay 6,000,000 dollars for the ransom of Canton, government imposed a duty of five taels per pound upon the 50,000,000 lbs. of tea annually exported, of which 40,000,000 lbs. are taken by Englishmen; by this means the Chinese reimbursed themselves in rather more than two years. In the same manner, by imposing an additional duty of five taels, the government of China will be cash in hand before the time is expired (four years) for paying the 21,000,000 dollars.

The Wilberforce, steam vessel, Lieutenant Commander Webb, is ordered to Woolwich, to be paid off. This vessel was the last to leave the Niger, and has brought home the few remaining parties who went out on that unfortunate expedition. The model farm has been entirely broken up, and scarcely a vestige remains to show that an attempt was made to colonise that part of Africa through which the pestilential river Niger has its course.

PROVINCIAL.

ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—At the weekly meeting of the League on Thursday, the time was principally occupied with details of the machinery being set in motion to collect the great fund—the manner in which that machinery is already beginning, most satisfactorily, to act—and of the proceedings of the council and lecturers in carrying forward the great agitation during the past week. These meetings excite great interest in Manchester, and the room in which they are held is always crowded. The Chairman announced the receipt of £100 from a landowner of Norfolk. His name is Edward Lombe, Esq., of Great Melton hall.

At the meeting of merchants and manufacturers held on Tuesday last, convened by the Anti-corn-law League, and at which about 500 were present, the sum of £3700 was subscribed towards the great league fund. Mr Alderman Brooks gave £300 ; John Bright and Co., £300 ; Mr R. Munn of Bacup, £250 ; Richard Cobden and Co., £200 ; &c., &c.

On Wednesday an Anti-corn-law *soiree* was held at Sheffield, and about 600 individuals were present. Edward Smith, Esq., was chairman, and there were present Richard Cobden, Esq., M. P. ; John Bright, Esq., of Rochdale ; Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton ; R. R. Moore, Esq. ; and several other distinguished friends of repeal. Most of the above gentlemen delivered addresses on the occasion.

ADVANTAGES OF ARISTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.—In consequence of the announcement in Kidderminster of the poor rate being raised to 2s. in the pound, a meeting of the rate payers was called in order to examine the cause of the increase. The whole may be judged of from one of the items, which was the sum of £30 for arms, ordered by Sir James Graham during the outbreaks in the Potteries. A great meeting of the magistrates of Nottingham, at which upwards of forty were present, took place at Southwell, on Thursday, to consider the propriety of increasing or abolishing the rural police force in this county. The Earl of Lincoln occupied the chair. An increase was carried by 14 to 12, all the rest refusing to vote. The new force is to consist of a chief constable, 4 superintendents, 5 inspectors, and 72 policemen.

SOUTHAMPTON, Nov. 28.—The Beeswing, a vessel fitted up purposely for the importation of horned cattle into this country from Spain, arrived here on Friday night, with a cargo of 70 head, which were landed in good condition. The Richard and Ann, freighted with fat beasts from Corunna, and destined for this port, was obliged to put into Falmouth through stress of weather. Fifty-one beasts had died on board out of a cargo of 80. This cargo was the property of some cattle dealers in Southampton, and through mismanagement they have sustained a great loss. The new West India steamer Avon, which was destined to take out the next West India mails, has performed an experimental trip, and her engines have been found to be defective. The Clyde will therefore take out the next mails. The Lady Mary Wood left this port on Saturday, to receive at Falmouth the peninsular mails. The Tagus arrived from Gibraltar, Portugal, and Spain, yesterday ; 16 head of cattle formed part of her cargo. The Iberia, a vessel destined to trade between Southampton and the Bosphorus, will take out the peninsular mails next week, instead of the Little Liverpool steamer. A West India steamer will be due at this port on the 4th proximo. A large public meeting was held here last week, to make arrangements to induce the Royal Agricultural society to hold their annual meeting in Southampton in 1844. The great interest which these annual meetings excite, and the vast number of the most affluent persons in the country, who form a gathering once a year to witness the efforts of skill and science in agricultural pursuits, render the selection of a town for meeting by the society, a lucrative prize to the inhabitants. The townspeople here seem confident, from the great attraction which Southampton always presents, from the extensive open spaces in the town, centrally situated, and fitted for cattle shows, together with its spacious hotels for the accommodation of a large concourse of persons, and its easy access from all the cattle-breeding counties, that no town will be able successfully to compete with it in attempting to gain the favour of the Royal Agricultural society.

BIRMINGHAM BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On Friday se'nnight a very numerous and respectable meeting of the friends of this society, was held in the baptist chapel, Canon street, for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee's proceedings during the past year, and of electing delegates from the society to attend the great anti-slavery convention to be held in London in June, 1843. Joseph Sturge, Esq., presided ; and amongst the ministers of religion and other gentlemen present, were the Rev. Dr Hoby, the Rev. Messrs Morgan, Swan, Price, Brewer of Coleford, and Hammond of Handsworth ; Mr John Scoble, secretary of the London Anti-slavery society ; Edmund Sturge, Esq. ; Francis Room, Esq. ; Mr William Morgan, secretary of the Birmingham society ; and other friends of freedom.

The CHAIRMAN gave a brief outline of his visit to the United States and Paris, during the past year. Although, as they were probably aware, no country in the world put forth higher pretensions to the possession of the principles of liberty than the Americans, yet he regretted to say that there were not wanting evidences of the grossest outrage of every feeling of freedom and justice. The persecutions and oppressions arising from the distinction of colour he found to prevail, more or less, throughout all the States ; and he experienced no little difficulty in persuading many of their friends in America, that as a class, the coloured race possessed the same intellectual capacities as themselves. Mr Sturge noticed the cruelty and injustice of first degrading a portion of their fellow-creatures, and, then, from the fact of their being so degraded, arguing that they were unfit for the enjoyment of freedom. The result of his personal observation and inquiries had, however, convinced him of the slow but certain progress of the principle of abolition in America ; and he was satisfied that at no very distant day they might hope to see their final triumph, notwithstanding the fearful amount of ignorance and prejudice which they had to contend with in that country. Mr Sturge next referred to his visit to Paris, and to the reception which the delegates met with in the French capital where, it is known, the government interposed to prevent the convention from holding its sittings. They had, however, experienced much courtesy and attention from M. Guizot ; and he believed, on the whole, that the result of their visit was calculated to advance the cause of the abolition of slavery in the French colonies.

Mr W. MORGAN, the secretary of the society, read the report of the committee for the past year ; which gave a detail of the various circumstances which had occurred during that period, either in advancing or retarding the progress of slave abolition throughout the world. It noticed in particular the injurious operation of the Ashburton treaty, by a clause of which, fugitive slaves who might escape into Canada were to be given up if charged with certain descriptions of crime, amongst which robbery was included ; and it is clear, so long as the slave had in his possession, or on his person, any portion of property, however valueless, in the shape of clothes, &c., belonging to his owner, the latter would be justified in claiming him ; and of thus destroying that proud distinction which Great Britain possesses over other nations of the earth, of conferring liberty on the captive the instant his foot touched her soil.

The adoption of the report having been moved and seconded,

A liberated African, named MOSES GRANDY, who had just arrived from America, duly accredited by the anti-slavery societies in the United States, was here introduced to the meeting, and gave a heart-rending account of the cruelties practised by the planters in the southern states towards their slaves. He himself had been subjected to the greatest oppression and fraud, having purchased his freedom, fixed at 600 dollars, three times in succession from his owners before they granted him his liberty. He had arrived in this country for the purpose of raising the means of purchasing the liberty of his child and four grand-children, who had been sold into slavery in the southern states.

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE, missionary from Africa, moved the next resolution—

"That the meeting rejoiced in the steady progress of the anti-slavery cause throughout the world, and urged their friends, especially in the United States, France, and Holland, to persevere in their exertions, and earnestly to maintain the doctrine that slavery was a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be immediately and entirely abolished."

Mr Clarke gave a melancholy account of the horrors of the slave-trade, which it appeared was still carried on to as great an extent as ever on the coast of Africa. Even in the British settlement of Fernando Po, he had found the greatest cruelties practised towards slaves who had heard from his own lips the first tidings of freedom. In the islands subject to the Danish government, slavery prevailed in its worst form, and the system was encouraged to a great extent by some who called themselves Christian missionaries ; and on his return from Africa, by the Havana, he had learned from the best authority that two vessels had lately arrived there from "the coast" with not less than 800 slaves on board.

Mr SCOBLE proposed the next resolution—

"That this meeting deplore the sanction which has recently been given by the government and legislature of this country, to Coolie emigration from India to the Mauritius, and to the proposed emigration from the west coast of Africa to the British colonies ; in which schemes they perceive the creation of a new slave-trade, which no legislature can restrict, and which they fear will prove deeply injurious to the emancipated classes. That this meeting have learned, with deep regret, that the legislative council of Trinidad have passed an ordinance for indenturing African emigrants, on their arrival in that colony, thus depriving them of all the attributes of free men ; and this meeting call on the government to resist this attempt to introduce slavery, by refusing the sanction of the crown thereto."

Mr Scoble entered into a variety of interesting details in reference to the progress of abolition since he last had the pleasure of addressing an audience in the town of Birmingham. Mr Clarke had given them some description of the horrors perpetrated in Africa, in connexion with the slave trade, from which it appeared, that after years of untiring effort, the friends of abolition found themselves at the present moment grappling with an enemy as strong—nay, stronger than that with which Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe had to contend, when first they commenced their glorious labours. At that time, it was computed that there were not more than 17,000 Africans annually transported from their country ; but since the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain, it had been ascertained that more than 150,000 human beings were annually landed in Cuba, the Brazils, Texas, and the other markets in which a demand existed for slaves ; and for every one of these whom the dealers succeeded in bringing into the market, not less than two perished, either in the wars in the interior, the sacrifices of the refuse slaves on the coast, or in the horrors of the middle passage. It might, perhaps, be asked, how it was, after the efforts made by British abolitionists, that the evil still raged to so fearful an extent ? His answer was this, that whilst slavery existed, whilst a market was found in every part of the world for slaves, and whilst an enormous profit could be realised by their purchase and sale, so long would slavery continue, despite all the efforts that might be made by the British government for its suppression. Turning to America, much had been done for the cause of abolition in that country during the past year. In some of the Christian churches, slave-holders were no longer permitted to approach the table of the Lord ; and the American board of Foreign Missions had refused the price of blood which slave-owners were in the habit of contributing to their funds. From France, they had received intelligence that the Duke de Broglie, the honoured president of the French Abolition society, was about making a final report to the French government, on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the colonies of France ; and in Holland, he was happy to state, that the government had appointed a commission of five persons, to report on the best means of emancipating the slaves in the colonies belonging to that country. Approaching nearer home, he lamented to say that England had not yet cleared her hands of the stain of slavery, there being millions of slaves at the present moment within the territories of British India. Such being the case, they had still a mighty work to achieve. In the British settlements of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, where slavery existed under various forms, the government had resolved to abolish the system ; and, he believed, at the present moment, the whole population of these settlements were in the enjoyment of freedom. With respect to British India, by recent regulations, the privileges of the protection of the law had been extended to the bond as well as the free ; the sale of children into slavery had been prohibited, and in future the children of all slaves would be free. In reference to Hayti, he rejoiced to say, that the law which had hitherto prevented the Haytians from visiting the British islands, and the island of Jamaica in particular had been rescinded through the efforts of British abolitionists ; and by treaties entered into with the Brazilian and Spanish governments, Great Britain had acquired the right of demanding the liberation of every slave illicitly introduced

into the Brazils and Cuba since 1820; and, as at least three-fourths of the slave population had been imported under these circumstances, the meeting would perceive the power which England possessed of putting an end for ever to the slave trade on the coast of Africa. Having adverted to the introduction of Coolies into the British colonies, and the arbitrary regulations passed by the legislature of Trinidad, for subjecting the labourers to slavery, against which a memorial had been addressed to the British government, Mr Scoble concluded by calling attention to the approaching convention in London, the proceedings of which were looked to with great interest by the friends of freedom in various parts of the world.

The Rev. T. SWAN moved the next resolution,—

"That this meeting emphatically protest against any construction of the 10th article of the Ashburton treaty, which shall in anywise affect the security hitherto enjoyed by fugitive slaves in Upper Canada, or any other part of the British dominions, and trusts such treaty will not be ratified by the government, nor sanctioned by parliament, until the clause is expunged, or satisfactorily explained."

After speaking briefly upon the resolution, Mr Swan concluded by reading the following highly interesting and important letter from the Rev. J. Phillippo, in reference to the condition and prospects of Jamaica, from which island he has recently returned to England. The statements it contains, it is needless to observe, set at rest the clamours and complaints of interested parties, in this country and Jamaica, with respect to the workings of emancipation, and the beneficial influence of freedom on the character and conduct of the population. The letter, which is addressed to Joseph Sturge, Esq., is as follows:—

"*Hastings, Nov.* 15, 1842.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—Agreeably with your request, I very cheerfully furnish you with a few particulars relative to the state of things in Jamaica, exceedingly regretting my inability to be present with you on the interesting occasion to which you refer.

"1. The island has been favoured, as perhaps you have heard, with considerable agricultural prosperity during the past year. The sugar crop has been abundant—greater than it has been for several years past; more sugar has been manufactured, indeed, than could be conveyed home by the number of vessels sent out for the purpose; accordingly (and I have it on the authority of a captain of a vessel trading to the island, in addition to the testimony of several other individuals acquainted with the fact) a considerable quantity was left behind until additional vessels could be despatched to convey it, or until others could return for the purpose. As an evidence of the latter statement, it accords with my knowledge that several vessels have returned to the colony this year full three months earlier than they have been accustomed to return. Provisions throughout the country have also been abundant, and their price has been accordingly reduced. The Pimento crop has been large, but from the state of the market, considered unprofitable. The coffee plantations have been more than usually productive, and the article has fetched a remunerating price.

"2. The prospect for the coming year is also encouraging, I have no hesitation in saying, in a high degree. The seasons for preparing the soil and planting canes have been unusually propitious. An additional quantity of land has therefore been brought into cultivation—increased attention has been manifested to the various processes by which sugar cultivation and manufacture are distinguished—and a better understanding has been cultivated between employers and the employed. Added to this, it is ascertained by recent accounts from Jamaica, that propitious seasons have been continued, which, together with the 'mania,' as it is called, that exists 'for cane planting,' apprehensions are created in the minds of individuals in one of the colonies, that more canes will be produced than there will be facilities for manufacturing into sugar.

"3. The general character and conduct of the people continue to improve. A more industrious peasantry, generally speaking, cannot exist. In all my journeyings through the extended district under my superintendence, and in other parts of the island (including one entire parish, and parts of three adjoining ones, in which there are sugar estates, coffee and pimento plantations, with several extensive villages), I have scarcely seen an individual at any time loitering about, or who betrayed the least indisposition to labour for reasonable wages duly and punctually paid. The cottages of the peasantry in general—their grounds—everything about them, indicate their sense of the advantages derivable from persevering industry. Those who have been accustomed to that kind of employment are by no means averse to estate labour; but, on the contrary, in most cases prefer it to any other. Nor are the demands of the peasantry for money wages exorbitant. In no case that has come under my notice has the most able class required more than one shilling and sixpence per diem. In numerical strength I consider the present population fully able to keep up the cultivation of the estates and other properties to the present, and even to a still greater extent. By the adoption generally of an improved system of agriculture, the present labouring population, it is my firm opinion, would be more than sufficient for the present demand, and quite equal to the means of remuneration possessed. And the native population is continually increasing in a degree which will double and treble itself in a few years, thus rendering the accession of labourers from other parts of the world unnecessary for the purposes for which they are ostensibly desired. Small farmers of small capital might settle advantageously in the mountain districts; but the emigration of Europeans, especially as day-labourers, is out of the question. The means by which native agency, present and to come, may be made available to the proprietors of the soil is obvious and easy—not, as has been hitherto too much the case in Jamaica, on the part of the employers making themselves objects of terror and aversion—not by attempting to exact labour at the lowest possible fraction, and by prosecuting offences, gross or trivial, with the utmost rigour of the law—not, in a word, by any coercive stimulus, but by mild, conciliating, and pacific conduct—by treating them as human beings, as men of like passions and resentments (whether for good or evil) with themselves. A contrary conduct has demoralised the peasantry of the land; and, if persevered in, will originate in Jamaica those very evils which the planters seem so anxious to avert, counteracting to a considerable degree the beneficial effects produced by the gospel.

"4. The whole state and aspects of the country are decidedly improved since the period of emancipation. Estates and properties in general where capital is possessed, and where the peasantry have been properly treated, are in much better condition than under the old system. Fences are being repaired, premises in some instances enlarged, pasture lands brought into good order that had been abandoned for years. Cultivation has also been extended, and the signs of prosperity are everywhere apparent.

"5. To a considerable degree a spirit of enterprise has been awakened. Various experiments have been successfully tried for increasing the conveniences of the public, and for developing the resources of the country. Agricultural societies have been formed, and are now in operation, in almost every parish: hence the plough and machinery are more generally introduced, whilst improvements might be made in these and other respects to an extent that would reduce the demand for manual labour to one-third of what is now required.

"6. The value of the property is very considerably enhanced. Sugar plantations, advantageously situated, are worth double the price at which they were valued during slavery and under the subsequent system; and no sooner is a property of this description in the market than it readily obtains a purchaser. A short time ago it was reported that two noble lords had announced their Jamaica properties for sale, when the editor of one of the island journals, who is incessantly predicting the approaching ruin of the country, expressed his hope that they may be purchased by individuals of capital, in order that their productiveness might be increased—a report, however, which he afterwards stated with great satisfaction he had authority to contradict. Waste lands, which a few years ago might have been purchased at from 1*l.* to 2*l.* per acre, now obtain a ready sale at from 3*l.* to 20*l.* per acre. Free villages, which brought thousands of acres of land into cultivation that had been before a wilderness, are now established in all parts of the island, and probably number at the present time between two and three hundred. In the district in which I reside, and in connexion almost entirely with my own congregation, there are seven of these villages, directly and indirectly under my own superintendence, together with an equal number of smaller settlements that are likely to become a nucleus for others.

"7. As a consequence of this improvement, property has become more generally distributed than formerly. Some proprietors may have suffered by emancipation, but the great mass of the people have been benefited by it. Thus, as is reasonable and just, the interest of the few has given way to the rights and possessions of the many. From the effects of slavery the whole body, socially and politically, was diseased—resembling the human frame under the influence of paralysis. Now wealth, or the means of its attainment, being generally possessed, liberty, and health, and happiness, are enjoyed by all—by the poor as by the rich—by the slave as by the tyrant. Hence we have prosperity as well as sound health and happiness among our labouring classes. Many of the once slaves have, by these advantages and their industrial habits, advanced themselves in the towns to tradesmen, and in the country to freeholders of from one to five, ten, and twenty acres each, and are thus rapidly forming that middle class which slavery precluded, and without which no country can flourish.

"With increased means there has been a demand for increased comforts, and thus civilisation has rapidly progressed. There has been a great improvement as to the style and manner of living among the peasantry in general—as to their cottages and furniture—as to their habits and dress—as to their appearance and general bearing. These circumstances, as it is but natural to suppose, have not been without their influence on the commerce of the island. The imports during the last three years have been unprecedented, and are still increasing; whilst, with the exports of the last year, the West Indian trade has been admitted, both by merchants and ship-owners, as the most profitable of any at the present day.

"Interesting and important as the consequences of emancipation have thus been, that event has been attended by results still more interesting and glorious. By the blessing of God on the instrumentality employed in connexion with the enjoyment of liberty, morality and religion have been greatly extended. None of the villages under the superintendence of the missionaries, I think I am warranted in saying, are desecrated by a vender of spirituous liquors, nor do they exhibit scenes of quarreling, reveling, or immorality of any kind. The children attend the day and evening schools, which are in most cases established for their benefit; most of their parents are members of some Christian church, and all may be said to be in the habit of attending to the outward means and ordinances of the gospel. Thus the colony in general is in the possession of peace, as well as of comparative happiness and prosperity.

"The great mass of the people, however, it is true, are still under the influence of oppressive laws; but the circumstances in which they are now placed justify the hope that at no very distant period they may be able, with their fellow subjects in England, by direct influence on the legislature, to obtain an equality of civil and religious rights.

"I am, my dear friend, very sincerely yours,

"JAMES M. PHILLIPPO.

"*To Joseph Sturge, Esq., Birmingham.*"

The Rev. J. Hammond brought forward the subject of the election of delegates to attend the great anti-slavery convention, to be held in London in June, 1843, and concluded his address by proposing, that Joseph Sturge, Esq., the Rev. John Angell James, the Rev. Thomas Swan, and the Rev. Thomas Morgan, should represent Birmingham at the approaching meeting.

The proposition was cordially received, and carried by acclamation, and a vote of thanks having been presented to the Chairman, and also to the Rev. J. Clarke and John Scoble, Esq., for the important and interesting information which they had communicated, the meeting separated about ten o'clock.

STATE OF TRADE.—In the Manchester market, the news brought by the last overland mail has acted favourably, and on many sorts of cloths a considerable advance was realised. At Leeds the news had not so great an effect as was anticipated, and in the Bradford market no improvement had taken place. Business has been rather brisker at Halifax and Oldham, and in the Rochdale flannel market, the demand was quite equal to that of former weeks. At Huddersfield no business was doing, and there was no expectation of a favourable change till after Christmas.

A beneficial change in trade becomes daily more observable, and the effect is widely extending throughout the kingdom. From Lancashire and the north of England, more cheering accounts come to hand. The advance in the price of cotton is about ½d. per lb., with an active demand. In the several articles used in manufacture, a decided improvement has taken place. Several large purchases were made on Saturday, of plaids, silks, and cottons, for exportation to Hong Kong; and we are informed, in one transaction, goods of the value of £25,000 to £30,000 have actually changed hands. For almost all articles of manufacture the present holders are demanding, and in most instances obtaining, improved prices.

REDUCTION OF WAGES.—A general reduction in labourers' wages has taken place in the neighbourhood of Gainsborough, from 12*s.* a week to 10*s.*, and in some places only 8*s.* is given.—*Manchester Guardian.*

BAD TIMES FOR RECRUITING.—It is a sign of the times, that with all the poverty and starvation that surrounds us, men cannot be induced to enter the army without a bait. Military glory, in the estimation of our citizens, is on the wane, and hence the people won't enlist. In Leeds, where unwilling idlers by the thousand may be found, the recruiting staff have issued placards offering a reward to every person bringing a recruit to enlist, and the same in addition to the usual bounty to every person enlisting of his own free will, without the intervention of a second party. It would seem from this that the people are now regarding starvation as preferable to soldiering.—*Bradford Observer.*

At a meeting of the directors of the North Midland railway, held at Derby on Wednesday last, six of the directors resigned their offices, and the six members of the committee of inquiry were elected in their stead. All the directors expressed their willingness to resign, but this was postponed till February. The resignation is owing to the resolution passed by the shareholders, for a committee of inquiry into the expenditure of the railway, and the capability of reducing it to a large amount.

A floating breakwater, consisting of an iron cylinder sustaining a grating attached to it by hoops, has during the last week been moored experimentally in Dover harbour. The whole expense of this work is incurred by Captain Grove, the spirited inventor of this bulwark to the sea.

The woman convicted of the unnatural crime of murdering six infants died in the hospital of the Gloucester county gaol on Friday. An inquest was held on the following day, and a verdict of "Natural death" returned.

INFANTICIDE IN THE FOREST OF DEAN.—The inquiry into the alleged murder of six infants by their mother, at Ruardean, has at length terminated. The jury, after carefully considering the evidence, returned a verdict against Frances Bennet, as principal, and Thomas Yapp, as accessory. They were both committed for trial.

CHILD BURNING.—There are three cases of children being burned to death, recorded in the provincial papers of last week. One took place at Wilsden, another at Haworth, and a third at Bedford. The papers almost every week have similar instances of death, arising from the carelessness and neglect of those to whom the care of children is committed.

On Monday last, an inquest was held at Bedford on the body of Robert Collier, who hanged himself in the Bedford County Penitentiary, where since last October sessions he had been committed for a trifling theft. From the evidence it appeared, that the view of his present position and future prospects in society induced the deceased to commit the rash act. A verdict of "Temporary insanity" was returned.

REVERSE OF FORTUNE. — An inquest was held on Monday, near Hereford, on the body of John Lavender, who had died from want in the barn of a farmer in the neighbourhood. The deceased had come from Liverpool, where he had left a wife and family, in search of employment. At the time of his marriage he was in possession of an estate valued at £500 a year. His property subsequently became mortgaged, and finally sold. He took a farm in the Isle of Man, but was unfortunate, and returned to England without a penny in his pocket. Being now reduced to destitution, rather than see his beloved wife and family starve, and removed to the workhouse, he abandoned them, and went wandering through the country in search of employment; he at length arrived at Bullingham, within half a mile of Hereford, and on Sunday evening last fell a sacrifice to poverty, dying in a barn of a broken heart and want of sustenance. A verdict of "Natural death" was returned.

IRELAND.

At a meeting held at Cork last week, for making preparations for the intended visit of the British association to that city, a resolution was adopted, "That it is desirable to hold, during the meeting of the association, an exhibition of the manufactures of Ireland, including the tabinets of Dublin, the linens of Belfast, and the lace fabrics of Limerick; and that the local council be recommended to make the necessary arrangements to effect so important an object."

ANTI-POOR-LAW RIOT.—In consequence of the opposition manifested by the country people in the district around Skibbereen to the collection of the poor rate, a large police force was sent round with the officer, in order to enforce the collection. While thus engaged, a collision ensued with a large orowd collected; the police fired on the people, and two men were killed and four wounded. The firing was kept up till the whole were dispersed. The event caused the greatest excitement in the neighbourhood, and additional reinforcements were sent for. An inquest was held, and continued for three days. At its close the jury returned a verdict of "Justifiable homicide" in the one case, and of "Manslaughter" in the other.

At the Belfast Police court on Monday, two men, named M'Master and Nicol, were committed for trial at the assizes, on a charge of conspiring to burn fifteen houses in that city, for the purpose of defrauding the County Insurance office of London. The magistrates said they never saw a stronger case; and it appears that the combustible matter placed in one of the houses was really found on fire.

It is stated that in Ireland potatoes are, by one-third or more, a better crop this year than last. According to this calculation, the farmers would not be such losers by the low prices as might appear at first sight, and as has been stated. Butcher's meat has come down somewhat nearer than it heretofore did, in proportion to the price of cattle.

SCOTLAND.

We grieve to say that the number of the unemployed is still rising. Last week it was 7,022, this week it is 7,372; showing an increase of 350.—*Paisley Advertiser.* In addition to the increase in Paisley, the villages of Barrhead and Kilbarchan have again broken down, and a considerable number of the inhabitants have thrown themselves on the county committee for support. In Kilbarchan about one-half the weavers are at present idle, and the number of unemployed is daily on the increase.

Another of the unfortunate persons (Miss Jane Walker) who were on the scaffold that fell when her Majesty was in Edinburgh, died on Friday last. She was carried to the Royal infirmary when the accident happened, where it was ascertained that she had received a compound fracture of the ankle; and though it was deemed expedient to have recourse to amputation, yet a strong desire to preserve the limb induced the surgeons in attendance to resort to less stringent measures, which were so far successful as to enable the patient to be removed, a fortnight since, to her sister's house, in India street; but mortification afterwards ensuing, she died as above stated.—*Caledonian Mercury.*

Winter is now set in with all its severity. On Monday the frost was so intense that ice nearly an inch thick had to be broken to facilitate the navigation of the canal. On Tuesday it was a thaw, but a good deal of snow fell. Yesterday the weather was again clear, with pretty keen frost.—*Caledonian Mercury.*

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

HIXON BATHS.—A neat and commodious independent chapel was opened at Hixon Baths, in Staffordshire, on Tuesday, 15th November, when two interesting and impressive sermons were delivered. One in the morning by the Rev. D. E. Ford, Lymington, author of "Decapolis," &c., &c.; the other in the afternoon by the Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham. Several of the neighbouring ministers took part in the services. Two very appropriate sermons were also delivered on the following Sunday in aid of the same object, by the Rev. Mark Butler of Stone. The audience were numerous on both occasions, and the contributions liberal.

TROWBRIDGE.—On Wednesday, the 16th of November, the congregation worshiping in the Tabernacle, had the satisfaction of opening a complete set of new school rooms, and celebrating their seventy-first anniversary. In the morning the venerable William Jay preached a sermon that will never be forgotten by those who heard him. At the close, the preacher alluded in the most impressive manner to Mrs Turner, the foundress of the Tabernacle, and the first Christian who discovered him at his native village, Tisbury, and introduced him to the Rev. Cornelius Winter, adding, "Were it not for the Trowbridge Tabernacle, in all probability he would never have been known either as a writer or a preacher." The place was crowded. In the afternoon upwards of five hundred persons took tea in the new school room; after which the teachers presented to Mr Haden, their senior superintendent, as a testimonial of respect, a richly bound copy of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible, with massive silver mountings and inscription. In the evening a public meeting was held in the Tabernacle, Thomas Thomson, Esq., in the chair. An overflowing audience was addressed by the Rev. Messrs Owen of Bath, Harris of Westbury, Jackson of London, Samuel Salter, Esq., and William Stancourt, Esq., &c. At the close of the meeting the managers and teachers presented a handsome silver medal, struck for the occasion, to their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Mann. In these new buildings ample provision has been made to carry out the suggestions of "Jethro." Including an improved entrance to the Tabernacle, the building committee have expended more than £1000. There was no collection made at the opening, and no debt is expected.

LONG MELFORD, SUFFOLK.—The Rev. H. Hollis, of Framlingham. has accepted an invitation from the church and congregation assembling at the independent chapel at this town, late under the pastoral care of the Rev. Joseph Ford, of Alington, Middlesex.

The Rev. William Fraser of Bolton has accepted a unanimous invitation from the baptist church at Regent street chapel, Lambeth, and will commence his labours in that place on the second Sabbath in December.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AND THE MISSIONARIES.—When the late lamented Mr Williams was in England, he had the honour of an interview with the Duke of Devonshire, who showed much interest in his character and labours. On Saturday last, the Rev. Mr Moffat had also the honour of visiting his Grace at Chatsworth, by appointment; and, with Mrs Moffat and the friends who accompanied them, were received by the Duke in the kindest manner. His Grace conversed with Mr Moffatt for a considerable time, and assured him that he had read his book, much of it twice over, with great delight. With reference to Mr Moffat's intended journey of discovery beyond the bounds hitherto passed by white men, his Grace emphatically desired him to remember poor Williams, and to run no needless risk. His Grace placed in the hands of Mr Moffat a cheque for a handsome amount; and after entertaining Mr and Mrs Moffat and their friends at lunch, and accompanying them through the conservatories, left them, with the warmest good wishes for their prosperity and success.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 29, at Craven chapel, London, by the Rev. Dr Leifchild, Mr EDMUND HUNTSMAN, of High Holborn, to SARAH, second daughter of James RAYMENT, Esq., of the Winkworth and Broken wharfs, London, and North Weald, Essex.

Nov. 16, at Luton, Beds, by the Rev. J. S. Bright, Mr JAMES COOPER PIGG, of Chalfont, surgeon, to CHARLOTTE, only daughter of Mr SPENCER, of Luton.

Nov. 22, at Broadmead chapel, Bristol, the Rev. O. J. BIRT, recently designated to the baptist mission in the island of Ceylon, to MARGARET, youngest daughter of the late Edward HALLAM, Esq.

DEATHS.

Nov. 25, at her father's house, Culham, near Henley-on-Thames, EMMA, wife of Mr JACOB UNWIN, 31, Bucklersbury, aged 36 years.

Nov. 27, at Brighton, aged 76, Mrs REBECCA WINTER, widow of the late Rev. Robert Winter, D.D.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Nov. 18.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

The Boston road chapel, Ealing, Middlesex. G. Clark, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHWELL, JAMES, Salford, Lancashire, grocer, to surrender Dec. 2, Jan. 9: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, and Mr J. Dearden, Manchester.

BARTON, WILLIAM, St Helen's, Lancashire, watch movement maker, Dec. 6, Jan. 6: solicitors, Messrs Norris and Co., Bartlett's buildings, Holborn, London, and Messrs Barnes and Barrow, and Mr H. G. Taylor, St Helen's.

BELLINGHAM, RICHARD, Wem, Shropshire, boot maker, Dec. 5, Jan. 10: solicitor, Mr S. Walmsley, Wem.

BOYCE, SAMUEL CLINCH, Fenchurch street, and Rood lane, City, cheesemonger, Dec. 7, 28: solicitor, Mr Myatt, 75, Old Broad street.

CASTLE, WILLIAM, Wanborough, Wiltshire, sheep dealer, Nov. 29: solicitors, Messrs Crowdy, Swindon, Wilts.

CLAPHAM, HENRY, Liverpool, woolen draper, Dec. 3, Jan. 6: solicitor, Mr R. Frodsham, Liverpool.

DEDMAN, WILLIAM, 22, but late of 41, Bryanstone street, Portman square, grocer, Dec. 1, 30: solicitor, Mr Branscome, Wine Office court, Fleet street.

GREEN, JAMES, Leeds, victualer, Dec. 6, Jan. 3: solicitor, Mr C. Naylor, Leeds.

HOLYLAND, THOMAS, Manchester, woolen cloth manufacturer, Dec. 5, Jan. 10: solicitors, Mr Fox, 40, Finsbury circus, London, and Mr Earle, Manchester.

LANE, EDMUND, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, edge tool maker, Dec. 6, Jan. 3: solicitor, Mr Bevis, Cirencester.

LITTLE, PETER, Blackburn, Lancashire, currier, Dec. 9, 29: solicitors, Messrs Howard and Harrison, Preston, and Messrs Norris and Co., Bartlett's buildings, Holborn.

LOOSEMORE, ROBERT, Tiverton, Devonshire, scrivener, Dec. 19: solicitor, Mr W. D. Moore, Exeter.

LOWTHER, JOHN, late of Queen's row, Pentonville, builder, Dec. 6, Jan. 7: solicitor, Mr Lindo, 113, Fenchurch street, City.

NEWCOMB, FREDERICK, Newgate market, and Theberton street, Islington, carcase butcher, Dec. 6, Jan. 5: solicitor, Mr Smith, 9, Barnard's inn.

PARRY, JOHN, late of Newtown, and now of Llanllwchairn, Montgomeryshire, mercer, Dec. 6, Jan. 13: solicitors, Messrs Stephens and Jones, Newtown.

PEPPER, JOHN, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, tailor, Dec. 9: solicitors, Messrs T. and F. Edwards, Bristol.

PERRY, THOMAS, Kirkdale, but late of Liverpool, Lancashire, builder, Dec. 3, Jan. 5: solicitor, Mr J. Whitley, Liverpool.

SWIRES, GEORGE, Birstall, Yorkshire, merchant, Dec. 7, Jan. 4: solicitors, Messrs Van Sandau and Cumming, 27, King street, Cheapside, London, and Mr W. Jacomb, Huddersfield.

WATSON, BARNARD LINDSAY, 83, Cornhill, City, and 58, Gordon square, St Pancras, and Queenborough, Kent, manufacturer of flags, Dec. 8, Jan. 4: solicitor, Mr Hardingham, 11, Serle street, Lincoln's inn.

WEBSTER, JOSEPH, and PICKLES, MARY, Morley, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturers, Dec. 7, Jan. 4: solicitors, Mr Walker, 13, Furnival's inn, London, and Mr J. Blackburn, Leeds.

WILKINSON, JOHN, Ardwicke and Manchester, Lancashire, innkeeper, Dec. 12, 29: solicitors, Messrs Atkinson and Saunders, Manchester, and Messrs Makinson and Sanders, Elm court, Temple, London.

WYATT, JAMES, Plymouth, Devonshire, upholsterer, Dec. 6: solicitor, Mr Hogdon, Exeter, and Mr Edmonds, or Mr Elworthy, Plymouth.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BAXTER, DAVID WILLIAM, Dundee, baker, Nov. 28, Dec. 19.

COOPER, JOHN, Dunfermline, manufacturer, Nov. 30, Dec. 21.

HAMILTON, JAMES, Hamilton, grocer, Nov. 28, Dec. 20.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, Hamilton, wright, Nov. 28, Dec. 20.

SINCLAIR, WILLIAM, Leith, cooper, Nov. 29, Dec. 23.

WALKER, GEORGE, BRYCE, JAMES, and FERGUSON, JOHN, of the Knabble-street Spinning company, Dunfermline, mill spinners, Dec. 1, 22.

Tuesday, November 30.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm IV., cap. 85:—

Saint Bartholomew-the-Apostle, Ramhill, Lancashire. John Heyes, superintendent registrar.

The Primitive methodist chapel, Liverpool. James Eckersley, superintendent registrar.

The baptist chapel, of Pershore, Worcestershire. E. Murrell, superintendent registrar.

St Patrick's chapel, Sheerness, Kent. Edward Eastman, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BROWN, JOHN, and MEAKIN, GEORGE, Walsall, Staffordshire, ale merchants.

FOSTER, GEORGE, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, woolen draper.

WATKINSON, RICHARD FOSTER, and HAIGH, WILLIAM, now or late of Huddersfield' Yorkshire, woolen cloth merchants.

BANKRUPTS.

ANTROBUS, JOHN, Birmingham, plater, Dec. 13, Jan. 11: solicitors, Messrs Vincent and Sherwood, 9, King's Bench walk, Temple, London, and Mr T. R. T. Hodson, Birmingham.

APPLEYARD, SAMUEL, Manchester, stuff merchant, Dec. 13, Jan. 21: solicitors, Messrs R. M. and C. Baxter, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs Sale and Worthington, Manchester.

BELL, JOHN HENRY, Stoke's-croft, Bristol, apothecary, Dec. 13 and Jan. 10: solicitor, Messrs Edwards, Bristol.

BELL, ISAAC, and DAVISON, JOHN, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, earthenware manufacturers, Dec. 8 and Jan. 10: solicitors, Messrs Williamson and Hill, 4, Verulam buildings, Gray's inn, London: and Mr Henry Ingledew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

CHATTERTON, JOHN HOOKER, Nottingham, milliner, Dec. 8, Jan. 9: solicitors, Messrs Cursham and Campbell, Nottingham.

CUNLIFFE, JOHN, Liverpool, coach proprietor, Dec. 9, Jan. 10: solicitors, Mr Whitley, Liverpool, and Mr Bryant Garey, Southampton buildings, Chancery lane, London.

EDMONDS, MARGARET, 4, Park place, and 15 A, Arlington street, St James's, and Hearn hill cottage, Hearn hill, Surrey, boarding-house keeper, Dec. 14, Jan. 11: solicitors, Messrs Pollock and Co., Parliament street.

ELLISON, RICHARD, and GOODWORTH, JOHN, Barnsley, Yorkshire, linen manufacturers, Dec. 12 and Jan. 6: solicitor, Mr T. C. Mencer, Barnsley.

EVERALL, EDWARD, Liverpool, coal merchant, Dec. 3, 28: solicitor, Mr Rodgers, Liverpool.

FEAVER, THOMAS, Ludgate hill, mercer, Dec. 13, Jan. 12: solicitor, Mr W. H. Ashurst, 137, Cheapside.

GREEN, WILLIAM, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, coach maker, Dec. 15 and Jan. 10: solicitor, Mr M. Packwood, Cheltenham.

HESLEWOOD, WILLIAM, HESLEWOOD, ROBERT, and SKITT, JOHN, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Red Lion wharf, Thames street, London, white lead manufacturers, Dec. 12, Jan. 4: solicitors, Messrs Tilson and Co., 29, Coleman street, London, and Messrs Peter and Robert Wells, Hull.

MANWARING, MARY, Gornal, Staffordshire, grocer, Dec. 8, Jan. 5: solicitors, Messrs Palmer and Nettleship, 4, Trafalgar square, Charing cross, London, and Mr Thomas Wight, Kingsromford, Staffordshire.

MANSELL, EDWARD, Chippenham, Wiltshire, upholsterer, Dec. 23: solicitor, Mr Broome Pinniger, Chippenham.

PHILLIPS, JOSEPH, Hercules tavern, Hercules passage, Threadneedle street, tavern keeper, Nov. 30, Dec. 23: solicitors, Messrs Fry and Co., Poultry.

PRICE, BENJAMIN, Birmingham, general dealer, Dec. 5, Jan. 5: solicitors, Messrs Heywood and Webb, Birmingham.

ROWELL, THOMAS, Cambridge, linen draper, Dec. 5, Jan. 6: solicitors, Mr Justinian Adcock, Cambridge, and Mr William Henry Smith, 22, Bedford row, London.

THOMAS, DAVID, Manchester, merchant, Dec. 10 and Jan. 14: solicitor, Mr John Hampson, Manchester.

THOMAS, WILLIAM, Bristol, tailor, Dec. 9, 30: solicitor, Mr Short, Bristol.

WARREN, RICHARD, Liverpool, druggist, Dec. 9, Jan. 11: solicitors, Mr Henry Cross, Liverpool, and Messrs Vincent and Co., Temple, London.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The rise in the funds, which took place on the arrival of the intelligence from th East, has been nearly sustained. There is at present a quiet market, and prices ar not buoyant.

	Wed.	*Thurs.*	*Fri.*	*Sat.*	*Mon.*	*Tues.*
3 per cent. Consols	94⅜	94⅞	94⅜	94⅜	94⅜	94⅜
Ditto for account	94⅛	95	95	95	95	95
3 per cents. Reduced	94	94¼	94	94	94¼	94¼
3½ per cents. Reduced	100¾	100⅞	100⅝	100⅝	100⅝	100⅝
New 3½ per cent.	101⅛	101⅜	101⅜	101⅜	101⅜	101⅜
Long Annuities	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅜	12⅜
Bank Stock	172	172	171⅝	171⅝	172	171⅝
India Stock	265	265	266	266	—	—
Exchequer Bills	58 pm	58 pm	58 pm	54 pm	54 pm	55 pm
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	54 pm	52 pm	53 pm	—	52 pm	52 pm

SHARES.

Railways—		London and Brighton	35½
Birmingham and Derby	41	London and Croydon Trunk	9½
Birmingham and Gloucester	45	London and Greenwich	5
Blackwall	6	Ditto New	15
Bristol and Exeter	45	Manchester and Birmingham	—
Cheltenham and Gt. Western	21	Manchester and Leeds	68½
Eastern Counties	9	Midland Counties	62
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	Ditto Quarter Shares	—
Great North of England	—	North Midland	62½
Great Western	85½	Ditto New	—
Ditto New	62¼	South Eastern and Dover	24
Ditto Fifths	—	South Western	61
London and Birmingham	186	Ditto New	—
Ditto Quarter Shares	48		

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	30¾
Belgian	102	Peruvian	17½
Brazilian	66	Portuguese 5 per cents	38¼
Buenos Ayres	21⅛	Ditto 3 per cents	23¼
Columbian	21¼	Russian	113
Danish	83	Spanish Active	17⅞
Dutch 2½ per cents	53	Ditto Passive	4
Ditto 5 per cents	100⅛	Ditto Deferred	10

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Nov. 28.

The supply of English wheat was good, but the condition being indifferent, it was cleared off with difficulty at a decline of 1s. to 2s. per qr. Foreign is held firmly at former prices, but few sales have been made.

The quantity of barley on sale was large, and at a decline of 2s. per qr. Much difficulty was experienced in making sales.

Beans and peas were each 1s. per qr cheaper.

Oats were also in slow request, and barely supported former rates.

	s.	s.		s.	s.		s.	s.
Wheat, Red New	45	to 51	Malt, Ordinary	42	to 52	Beans, Pigeon	32	to 34
Fine	48	.. 54	Pale	53	.. 56	Harrow	30	.. 32
White	46	.. 50	Peas, Hog	29	.. 31	Oats, Feed	17	.. 20
Fine	50	.. 56	Maple	32	.. 34	Fine	—	.. 22
Rye	32	.. 35	Boilers	33	.. 35	Poland	21	.. 24
Barley	22	.. 26	Beans, Ticks	27	.. 29	Potato	21	.. 24
Malting	30	to 33						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR NOV. 25.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.			DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.		
Wheat	49*s.*	8*d.*	Wheat	49*s.*	8*d.*	Wheat	20*s.*	0*d.*
Barley	28	1	Barley	28	5	Barley	9	0
Oats	17	10	Oats	17	11	Oats	8	0
Rye	31	8	Rye	31	7	Rye	10	6
Beans	31	6	Beans	31	11	Beans	10	6
Peas	34	2	Peas	33	9	Peas	9	6

SEEDS.

There was not much doing in any species of seeds, and with the exception of a slight decline in the value of Canary, no change deserving notice occurred in prices.

Linseed, English, sowing	48s. to 56s.	per qr	
Baltic, ditto	— .. —		
Ditto, crushing	42 .. 45		
Mediter. and Odessa	45 .. 46		
Clover, English, red	— .. —	per cwt.	
Ditto, white	— .. —		
Flemish, red	— .. —		
Ditto, white	— .. —		
New Hamburgh, red	— .. —		
Ditto, white	— .. —		
Old Hamburgh, red	— .. —		
Ditto, white	— .. —		
French, red	— .. —		
Ditto, white	— .. —		
Hempseed, small	35 .. 38		
Large	46 .. 48		
Coriander	10s. to 16s.	per cwt	
Old	16 .. 18		
Canary, new	70 .. 71		
Extra	72 .. 73		
Carraway, old	— .. —		
New	42 .. 44		
Mustard, brown, new	10 .. 11	per bush.	
White	10 .. 10 6		
Trefoil	18 .. 22		
Rye grass, English	30 .. 42		
Scotch	18 .. 40		
Tares, winter	— .. —	per qr	
New	5 .. 6	per bush.	
Rapeseed, English, new	31*l.* .. 33*l.*	per last	
Linseed cakes, English	10*l.* 0*s.* to 10*l.* 10*s.*		
Foreign	7*l.* to 7*l.* 10*s.*		
Rapeseed cakes	5*l.* 5*s.* to 6*l.* 0*s.*		

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Nov. 28.

Our butter market has been dull since our last, and only a limited business transacted. Prices are about the same as last quoted, for Irish as well as foreign. In bacon rather more was done on board and landed, and prices better supported. We quote them 37s. to 42s. landed, and 36s. to 40s. on board. Bale and tierce middles dull at 36s. to 40s. landed. Lard in fair sale at 52s. to 56s., and hams 56s. to 66s. per cwt. Beef and pork continue dull.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Nov. 28.

There has been very little activity since the duty was officially made known; and the prices, from its even exceeding the highest estimate of production, are of necessity depressed. The excess upon a comparison with the duty last year, and in 1840, is very considerable. We quote Sussex pockets, 70s. to 78s.; Weald of Kent, 72s. to 82s.; Mid Kent, 84s. to 120s.; East Kent, 90s. to 120s.; and Farnham, 112s. to 130s. per cwt.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 28.

The beef trade was dull and the supply large. Some fine large Northampton beasts sold at good prices, as also choice Scots, but otherwise a decline of 2d. per stone for the best quality must be noticed; many head were turned out unsold. The supply of foreign was limited, but the quality better than usual. The demand for mutton was slack, and the supply large. In beef and pork no alteration.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2*s.* 10*d.*	to 4*s.* 4*d.*	Veal	3*s.* 6*d.*	to 4*s.* 4*d.*	
Mutton	3 0	.. 4 4	Pork	3 10	.. 4 8	

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	646	4,820	226	387
Monday	3,789	24,810	108	427

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Nov. 28.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	2s. 10d.	to 3s. 0d.	Inferior Mutton	3s. 4d.	to 3s. 6d.	
Middling ditto	3 0	.. 3 2	Middling ditto	3 8	.. 3 10	
Prime large ditto	3 2	.. 3 4	Prime ditto	4 0	.. 4 2	
Prime small ditto	3 6	.. 3 8	Veal	3 6	.. 4 0	
Large Pork	3 6	.. 4 0	Small Pork	4 2	.. 4 6	

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Nov. 28.

The following abundant supply has arrived:—From Yorkshire, 1520 tons; Scotland, 1120; Devons, 525; Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, 570; Jersey and Guernsey, 740; Wisbeach, 370; total, 4845 tons. The demand remains very inactive, and sales difficult, except for superior samples.

York reds	55s. to 60s.	Kent, Essex, and Suffolk whites	40s. to 45s.
Scotch ditto	45 .. 50	Jersey and Guernsey ditto	35 .. 45
Devons	— .. 50	Wisbech	35 .. 45

COTTON, LIVERPOOL.

Since the receipt of the intelligence from China and India, the demand has been very animated. Prices of the common and middling qualities of American and Surat are fully ¼d. per lb. higher. Brazil is more inquired for, and prices are firm. 1133 Sea Island and 547 Stained were offered by auction, of which 740 of the former, and 480 of the latter found buyers at rather higher prices than were previously current.

WOOL, Nov. 28.

We have not any alteration to report in this branch of trade during the present week, either as to demand or prices.

Down ewes and wethers	0s. 10d.	to 0s. 10½d.	Half-bred hogs	1s. 0d.	to 1s. 0½d.	
Down teggs	0 11	.. 1 0	Flannel wool	0 8½	.. 1 0	
Half-bred wethers	0 10	.. 0 11	Blanket wool	0 5	.. 0 7½	

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Nov. 26.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	60*s.* to 75*s.*	New Clover Hay	80*s.* to 110*s.*
New ditto	— .. —	Old ditto	— .. —
Useful old ditto	80 .. 84	Oat Straw	36 .. 38
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	85 .. 90	Wheat Straw	38 .. 40

COAL EXCHANGE, Nov. 28.

Stewart's, 21s. 3d.; B. Hetton's, 21s. 3d.; Hetton's, 20s. 9d.; Lambtons, 20s. 9d.; Hasweil's, 20s. 9d. Ships arrived this week, 240.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, Nov. 29.

TEA.—About 28,000 packages have now passed the sale, of which 8,000 are sold; the remainder are bought in. The decline in prices since last sale is from 1d. to 2d. per lb., and the trade only seem to purchase for their immediate wants. Company's congou has been sold to-day for cash at 1s. 5d. per lb.

COFFEE.—The market is decidedly better, and there is a good demand for most sorts. Good ordinary St Domingo are now not to be had under 32s. per cwt. Good ordinary Ceylons are worth 64s. per cwt.

SUGAR.—100 hogsheads Barbadoes were sold by public sale at former rates; good to fine yellow fetched 65s. to 68s. per cwt.; and some low gray 60s. The trade have not bought largely—about 350 hogsheads and tierces. The refined market is firmer, and in some instances higher; good standard lumps are quoted 74s. to 75s. per cwt.: 5,401 bags Bengal were sold; good to fine white fetched 67s. to 69s.; low white 61s. 6d. to 63s. 6d. per cwt.

TALLOW.—The market is very quiet and prices the same. Best yellow candle, on the spot, is quoted at 47s. 6d. to 47s. 9d. per cwt.

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